

ANSWER

TO A

CALUMNY:

WITH SOME

REMARKS

UPON

An Anonimous Pamphlet, address'd
to his Grace the Duke of NEW-
CASTLE, entitled, *Some Obser-
vations on the Affiento Trade, as
it has been exercised by the
South-Sea Company, &c.*

WHEREBY

The Damage which has, or is likely to ac-
crue thereby to the *British* Commerce and
Plantations, and particularly to *Jamaica*,
is also considered.

IN TWO PARTS.

Fortiter calumniare, nihil adhaerebit.

By the FACTOR to the *South-Sea* Company,
at whom the Calumny was aimed.

LONDON: Printed by W. WILKINS, and Sold by
J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane.* M.DCC.XXVIII.

A. S. W. E. K.
CALUMIN Y.
WILLIS D. E.
R. E. M. A. K. S.



THE
MUSEUM
OF
NATURAL
HISTORY
AND
MINERALOGY
AND
ANTHROPOLOGY
AND
ETHNOGRAPHY
AND
PALEONTOLOGY
AND
COSMOGONY
AND
ASTRONOMY
AND
METEOROLOGY
AND
CLIMATOLOGY
AND
HYDROLOGY
AND
GEOLOGY
AND
MINERALOGY
AND
METALLURGY
AND
CHEMISTRY
AND
PHYSICS
AND
MATHS
AND
MUSIC
AND
LITERATURE
AND
HISTORY
AND
PHILOSOPHY
AND
THEOLOGY
AND
JURISPRUDENCE
AND
MEDICINE
AND
LAW
AND
POLITICS
AND
ECONOMICS
AND
AGRICULTURE
AND
MILITARY
AND
NAVY
AND
COMMERCE
AND
INDUSTRY
AND
ARTS
AND
MANUFACTURES
AND
TRADE
AND
FINANCE
AND
STATISTICS
AND
SOCIOLOGY
AND
PSYCHOLOGY
AND
PHYSIOLOGY
AND
ANATOMY
AND
MEDICINE
AND
SURGERY
AND
DENTISTRY
AND
VETERINARY
AND
HUSBANDRY
AND
FISHERY
AND
HUNTING
AND
SPORTS
AND
RECREATION
AND
AMUSEMENTS
AND
GAMES
AND
RELIGION
AND
MORALS
AND
ETHICS
AND
LOGIC
AND
SCIENCE
AND
TECHNOLOGY
AND
INVENTION
AND
DISCOVERY
AND
PROGRESS
AND
IMPROVEMENT
AND
CIVILIZATION
AND
CULTURE
AND
ENLIGHTENMENT
AND
WISDOM
AND
VIRTUE
AND
GOODNESS
AND
BEAUTY
AND
HARMONY
AND
BALANCE
AND
ORDER
AND
PACIFIC
AND
PEACE
AND
HAPPINESS
AND
WELL-BEING
AND
PROSPERITY
AND
SUCCESS
AND
GLORY
AND
HONOR
AND
RESPECT
AND
ADMIRATION
AND
LOVE
AND
AFFECTION
AND
FRIENDSHIP
AND
LOYALTY
AND
DUTY
AND
OBLIGATION
AND
RESPONSIBILITY
AND
ACCOUNTABILITY
AND
TRANSPARENCY
AND
INTEGRITY
AND
HONESTY
AND
COURAGE
AND
PATIENCE
AND
PERSEVERANCE
AND
DILIGENCE
AND
INDUSTRY
AND
ENTERPRISE
AND
IMAGINATION
AND
CREATIVITY
AND
INNOVATION
AND
LEADERSHIP
AND
MANAGEMENT
AND
ORGANIZATION
AND
COORDINATION
AND
COOPERATION
AND
TEAMWORK
AND
SYNERGY
AND
HARMONY
AND
BALANCE
AND
ORDER
AND
PACIFIC
AND
PEACE
AND
HAPPINESS
AND
WELL-BEING
AND
PROSPERITY
AND
SUCCESS
AND
GLORY
AND
HONOR
AND
RESPECT
AND
ADMIRATION
AND
LOVE
AND
AFFECTION
AND
FRIENDSHIP
AND
LOYALTY
AND
DUTY
AND
OBLIGATION
AND
RESPONSIBILITY
AND
ACCOUNTABILITY
AND
TRANSPARENCY
AND
INTEGRITY
AND
HONESTY
AND
COURAGE
AND
PATIENCE
AND
PERSEVERANCE
AND
DILIGENCE
AND
INDUSTRY
AND
ENTERPRISE
AND
IMAGINATION
AND
CREATIVITY
AND
INNOVATION
AND
LEADERSHIP
AND
MANAGEMENT
AND
ORGANIZATION
AND
COORDINATION
AND
COOPERATION
AND
TEAMWORK
AND
SYNERGY



A N
A N S W E R
T O A
C A L U M N Y, &c.
P A R T I.

*In which, after the Author's Vindication
against the Calumny on Himself, the se-
veral Charges upon the South-Sea Com-
pany are consider'd and refuted.*



A D not this Writer began
Hostilities upon me, such as
no Man can tamely suffer,
and preserve any Reputation
among Men of Worth, I had
contented my self with the
Discharge of my Duty as a
Servant, and not voluntarily
have made my self a Principal in this Controversy.

But as, in pretending to give a true Narrative of what pass'd before the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, at a Hearing before their Lordships, upon the Petition of the *South Sea Company*, with respect to Duties laid on their Slaves at *Jamaica*, he has thought fit to impute false Testimony unto me, by such a Description as cannot be mistaken, and which, falsely charged, carries with it the highest Degree of Obloquy and Defamation; I find my self indispensibly obliged to vindicate my own Innocence, and to protect against the Falshood of this Calumniator.

In p. 17. he asserts, that the *S. S. Company's* Factor then present should inform their Lordships, that the Company employed *Eight Hundred Seamen at Jamaica*; himself explaining this as spoke and understood of the Seamen employed in their *Sloops stationed at that Island*: further confirming his Reader in this Construction by a Rhapsody, *What did that Gentleman mean by these Assertions, which are so easily disproved?*

Let this Writer now apply these last Words to himself; for I do, in the most solemn Manner, protest, that in respect to the Number of Seamen employed by the *S. S. Company* in their Sloops at *Jamaica*, I never (to the best of my Knowledge and Belief) spoke of them as of more than Two Hundred; tho' I believe they have sometimes amounted to nearer Three Hundred. But the Number of Two Hundred is what I had asserted would be constantly in employ, in a State of the Company's Trade laid before the Governor, Council, and Assembly of *Jamaica*, some Years ago, in Conjunction with Mr. *Edward Pratter*, the Company's Joint-Agent with me. This very State I had in my Hand at the Time of my Examination before the Lords of the Privy Council; the same we had
trans-

transmitted to the Court of Directors of the Company; The Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor, and several of the Directors being present at this Hearing, some of them had this very Account now in their Hands likewise: After all which, can it be reasonably supposed I could be capable of such a Contradiction to my self, and of uttering, before such an Audience, so unprofitable a Falshood?

It will be observed by every discerning Reader, that this Assertion charged upon me, is not capable of those Alleviations which some Mistakes are, into which a Man may sometimes innocently fall, through Inadvertence or Misinformation; but is concerning a Fact, which, as Agent to the Company, I must know of my own Knowledge, and therefore must be supposed, if at all, to have wilfully and designedly prevaricated with their Lordships: Which, as it would greatly have encreased my Guilt and Folly, if true; so being otherwise, does proportionably enhance the Malignity of this Calumny.

P. 18. He makes another Assertion for me in these Words: "That there had been a greater private Trade carried on from *Jamaica*, since the Year 1723, than in Eighteen Years which he had known the Island."

This being wholly his own Invention, I really believe was hatch'd for the sake of the ingenious Comment which follows it; but whereof as I shall take Notice in a more proper Place, I shall wave making any Remark upon it here.

If I gave any Handle to this false Assertion, it must be this true one, which I did make, and which I still avow; to wit, That there had been more private Trade, meaning (that this Writer may be at no further Loss for it) the private Sloop Trade from *Jamaica* to the *Spanish Coast*, in the Year 1723, not since that Year, the *Assiento* being then

then open, than had been in the whole Time of the Suspension of the *Affiento*, during the last War. This we had also asserted in the before-mentioned State laid before the Governor, Council, and Assembly, which I now held in my Hand; and being a Fact notoriously true, I now made use of it, as we did then, for an Argument to prove, what is yet unanswered, and I think unanswerable, that the bad State of the private Trade of *Jamaica*, is not really owing to the S. S. Company, but to other Causes entirely and absolutely independent of them.

I might complain of this Writer for many other unfair Representations of what I said at the Council-Board, he having either enlarged upon or mistaken my Meaning in almost every Particular: And this I have the more Reason to do, as well because I did at that Time call upon all the Gentlemen present on the Part of *Jamaica*, there being a great Number present, to set me right in any Fact I should assert, if mistaken; as because, if he meant to be a fair Adversary, he ought, in common Justice, to have known of me, having had Opportunity ever since, whether I own'd those Assertions he charged me with or not, before he thus reported them upon Memory.

But I pass over all the rest, submitting to the Candor of every Reader of his Narrative, what Allowances are to be made for the Assertions of a Writer in general, after two such plain Instances of his Veracity; which, whether more to be admired at, or the Skill and Judgment with which his own Performance is conducted, is not easy to determine: whereon I shall venture however to bestow some Remarks, and then leave that to the Decision of the Reader.

With what becoming Modesty, and how *very artfully* does this Writer introduce himself, *pag.* 1, 2. to a Minister of State, who had presided at the Coun-

Council Board when this Cause was heard, by telling him, that his Grace, and about a Dozen more Privy-Counsellors, had suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the *Finesses* (*Fallacy* it is call'd in another Place) of the Managers of the S. S. Company; and that after hearing Council on both Sides for at least Three Hours, they had laid their Judgment on a *wrong Foundation*, without having a *clear and perfect Idea* of the whole *Affair*?

But this *clear and perfect Idea* is what he next undertakes to give his Grace; and in order thereto he asserts roundly, p. 2, 3. " That a *Spanish Trade* open'd in the Infancy of the Colony, was a principal Means of *Jamaica's* being so well settled as once it was, and that it maintain'd above Fifteen Hundred Seamen; which Trade the S. S. Company, by obtaining the *Assiento* Contract, have not only deprived the Island of, but have occasion'd great Numbers of People, particularly Seamen, to remove to other Parts. And this, says he, will evidently appear, when it is consider'd, that if there was no such Contract in being, or if it was in the Hands of any other Nation, they cou'd not carry it on without the Assistance of the *English*, and without trading with the Inhabitants of *Jamaica*."

I purposely transcribe these Propositions at large, because they are the Corner-Stone of his Building, and without which all the rest must tumble into Rubbish, fit for nothing but what they must have been designed, to blind the Eyes of the Ignorant and the Vulgar.

Let us now examine how they are supported. Why, he proceeds to give us an Account by whom the Trade to *Africa* is chiefly carried on; of the several Nations who have had the *Assiento*; of the Situation and Fitness of *Jamaica* for this; and of some parallel Cases, as he apprehends, between Negroes

groes in *Jamaica* and Wool and Drugs in *England*, justifying the Duties laid on the former in *Jamaica*, in Conformity to the Policy of *England*; and so having spent about Seven Pages, proving his Facts by his Arguments, and his Arguments by his Facts, he sums up his Victory with great Satisfaction of Mind, p. 8. *Thus, my Lord, I have shewn, &c.* repeating his own Assertions, without having produced the least shadow of Proof for any one.

But to be more particular: I appeal to every Reader of this Pamphlet, if it be not the least Truth he expects to find from what is asserted in it, That at the very Time when the *British* Nation obtain'd the *Assiento*, *Jamaica* was in actual Possession of this valuable Trade, and did then employ in it above Fifteen Hundred Seamen; whereof great Numbers did, upon the Establishment of the *S. S. Company*, remove themselves, their Wives and Families, to other Parts.

Now before I shew the Fallacy and Untruth of the Assertion itself, I beg leave to observe, that had the Fact been such, it wou'd not have follow'd necessarily that the *S. S. Company* were the Cause of this; but this Writer might have (as he really has) associated two Ideas which had no proper Connection or Dependance one on the other.

The *Spaniards*, before the Peace of *Utrecht*, had not for many Years regularly sent their Galleons into the *Indies*, but at such great Distances of Time as left those Countries, mostly, to be supplied by the *French* in the *South Seas*, and by the *Dutch* and *English* in the *North*. I name the *Dutch* first, not from Pre-eminence of Nation, but of their Concern in the Private Trade in Question, they having had ten times as much on that Coast for *European* Goods as ever *Jamaica* had: Since the Peace of *Utrecht*, the *Spanish* Galleons have been regularly sent, and given those Countries, with what have
been

been furnish'd by the *French* and *Dutch* and by the *S. S. Company*, more than a full Supply. This has left but little room for the *Jamaica* Traders: And is this to be charged upon the *S. S. Company*, or is *Britain* alone to be excluded?

As the *Jamaica* Trade has decreas'd, so has that of the *Dutch*, who have lost vast Sums of Money by it within these few Years last past: Have the *Dutch* ever complain'd of the *S. S. Company* for this?

Why no: Such Events are the natural Result of the different Policy and Maxims by which the *Spanish* Affairs have been conducted of later Times; and it is plain, I think, that if the annual Ship, as well as the Negro Trade, had not been obtained, the Trade of *Britain*, and consequently of *Jamaica*, had been so much less to the *Spanish* Indies, than what it has been, and the Trade of any other Nation who had obtained it, proportionably encreas'd. The Truth of this Assertion was experimentally proved, in what I have observed to have happen'd during the last short War with *Spain*; the *Assiento* was then suspended, and *Jamaica*, during that Time, had little or no Trade at all; and what a difference any long continuance of such a total Suspension of the *Spanish* Trade (which seems at present so little valued) would at any time make, in the Exportation of our Manufactures, and Importation of Bullion, I fear this Nation would very sensibly feel.

But I return to the Fact asserted by this Writer; in refuting which, that I may be clear, I think I may safely advance the very contrary Proposition to be true; to wit, That *Jamaica* was not in actual Possession of any considerable Trade to the *Spanish* Coast, at the Time of the Establishment of the *S. S. Company*; nor did that Trade maintain at that Time, (nor, as I believe, at any other) above Fifteen Hundred Seamen, or indeed half that Number.

B

It

It is notoriously known, that during *Queen Anne's* War, there were fitted out from *Jamaica* between Twenty and Thirty Privateers, which, including the Traders, might very well employ above Fifteen Hundred Seamen, tho' much the greater part were certainly on the privateering Account: Upon the Fame of many valuable Prizes brought into *Jamaica*, as well by these as by the Men of War, whereof a Squadron of about Ten Sail were kept upon that Station, and with a View probably to help towards the Charge of such a constant Naval Force to this Kingdom in those Parts, an Act of Parliament was pass'd at *Westminster*, laying *British* Duties on all Prize Goods taken in the *Indies*; which proved so excessively disproportioned to the Value there of many *European* perishable Commodities, Wines especially, that the Captors, instead of reaping any Harvest from their Toil and Dangers undergone, were brought considerably in Debt to the Government, for the Duties of their Goods imported, over and above their Value; which so enraged the Seamen of the Privateers, that some Time before the Peace of *Utrecht*, they were almost all deserted. This Hardship was represented by all the Merchants in *Jamaica*, to the Lords Commissioners of Trade; where, no doubt, the Representation it self may be seen, and will, I believe, be found to complain likewise of the Loss of their Trade at that Time; but more especially assigning the Desertion of the Seamen to the excessive Duties abovementioned; the which were thereupon reconsider'd in Parliament, and the Act repealed.

Let us now see what became of these Seamen, and to what *other Parts* they removed. Why truly they first removed to the *Sanblas*, a desert uninhabited Place upon the *Spanish* Coast; from whence, by a formidable Confederacy; formidable indeed, as this Writer terms them, but it was to ourselves, as well

as to the *Spaniards*, they threatened the Safety of all the Navigation of those Seas; and not without Reason, for no sooner was the Peace concluded, but most of them turned Pirates, and spread the Seas from South to North, and from the one *Indies* to the other, 'till one Crew of them returned again, not many Years since, to their old Settlement the *Sanblasts*, whither they brought the *Cassandra*, a valuable Prize, which they had taken in the *East-Indies*.

Instead of being inhabitants of *Jamaica*, and having *Wives and Children* there, as this Writer would insinuate; these were strolling Seamen, no otherwise residentiary at *Jamaica*, than as that was a Station fit for their Purpose during the War: And yet how little soever they answer his Description, he must be content with them for his Purpose, or find out another Set, which will better fit him.

And here, *en passant*, I beg leave to drop my Opinion, in which I stand not alone, but have as sensible Men on my side as any in *Jamaica*, or as any that know its Interests, and wish its Prosperity; to wit, that notwithstanding the Riches that were brought into *Jamaica* by the Privateers, during that War, which indeed help'd greatly to make Money plenty, especially in Taverns and Disorderly Houses, which were vastly increas'd by them; yet notwithstanding this, I say, it was so far from being a real Advantage to the main Interest of the Colony, that it was a manifest Prejudice to it; from the universal Debauchery of their Servants, and the Effect it had in turning Mens Thoughts in general, by the alluring Prospects of sudden Riches, from the more laborious and patient Life of Planting; in which must be allowed to consist, as well the true Interest, as the real and permanent Security of the Island: And let restless and fanciful Men flatter themselves never so much with imaginary Benefits, from the Commodiousness of *Jamaica's* Situation for War, it will

most certainly, whenever it happens, give an immediate check to its Progress in Planting, and leave this Island, tho' the War it self should prove successful, in the Hazard of which this Island takes its Fate, in a far worse Condition than it finds it.

But to return. I have spoke to this Writer's supposed Desertion of Seamen first, tho' last in the Order of his Proposition, because this Fact was capable of the clearest Proof, and leads most naturally to the clearing of the other; to wit, what *Spanish Trade Jamaica* was about that Time in possession of. And here I enter my Caveat before-hand, that I may not be construed as intending to diminish or discredit any valuable Branch of Trade, which *Britain* or its Colonies have, or may exercise, agreeably to its own Laws and Constitution. I am very sensible, this Trade once received open Encouragement, not only from the Government, but from the Legislature it self; but then it is to be considered, what the Posture of Affairs in *Europe* then was, and more especially of *Britain*, with respect to *Spain*; that *France* and *Spain* were then united in the strictest Bands of Interest and Friendship against us; that *Britain* was in a firm Alliance with the Emperor, and espoused his Pretensions to the Monarchy of *Spain*, Part of the Dominions of which Crown he was in actual possession of: And therefore it may reasonably be presumed, whatever was then done with regard to Trade, in any part of the *Spanish* Dominions, was done in concert with the then King *Charles* the Third of *Spain*, and in virtue of some secret Stipulations in Favour of *Britain*, for the great Service they were rendering that Monarch, by the Assistance of their Fleets and Armies. Besides, as the Galleons had fail'd in supplying the Wants of the *Spanish Indies*, it must be allowed to have been good Policy, to tempt them by this Encouragement, to have embrac'd the Interests

rests of King *Charles*, to which, no doubt, they were thought well disposed; and that it was in some such View that Sir *John Jennings* was dispatch'd with a strong Squadron, in order to support them in any such Resolution; it is plain his Expedition was not to attack them, seeing when he appeared off *Carthagena*, and found the *Spaniards* determined to defend themselves, Sir *John* immediately quitted the *Indies* with his Squadron, and returned. At the Peace of *Utrecht* the Face of Affairs was quite changed; King *Charles* the Third is become Emperor, and *Britain* acknowledges *Philip* the Fifth, with whom Treaties are concluded, as well of Commerce as of Peace; by which, no doubt, it was then judged, that a more valuable Trade was acquir'd in certainty, in lieu of a worse and more precarious; or rather, I may reasonably suppose, it was no longer thought practicable to take any publick Notice of a Trade, which, however advantageous it might have been to *Britain* in Time of War, being contrary to the Laws of *Spain*, with whom we were now enter'd into Amity and Friendship, must necessarily be past over in Silence, and left to take its Fate on the same Basis on which it had stood in former Times of Peace. I know of nothing stipulated in the *Assiento* Contract against it: the *Assiento* Contract does not necessarily prejudice it; nay rather I shall shew, with the help of this Writer, tends to promote it. So that I must confess myself at a loss to understand the true Meaning and Foundation of all this Writer's Clamour: Would he have no Treaties at all, but that the Trade should be left wholly to take its chance from *Jamaica*? That, the Reader will see, will be liable also to Miscarriages; for this Writer himself will tell him, they have none yet, tho' the *Assiento* is shut, and their Factors come away. If he has any better Scheme of Trade, why does he not offer it

to

to the Ministry or Parliament, that it may be examin'd, weigh'd and consider'd? Or if a Congress should open, that may furnish him with an Opportunity of displaying those Talents, of which he has given a great Minister so fair a Specimen. To all or any of these, the S. S. Company, nor any body else, can have any Objection. But can any Reader possibly collect any clear Idea, or frame any Judgment of the Trade he cries up, from the general Assertions he has given him; which in the whole amount to no more than this, That formerly *Jamaica* had a considerable Trade, and now it has very little? which is the Case of numberless other Places, as well as *Jamaica*.

But as I hope this is sufficient to convince even this Writer himself, that I am not for treating the private Traders of *Jamaica* as he does the Company, by demolishing them in all Events; so now let us proceed in our Examination, that by the Sequel we may see what this Trade really was, as well as what it is.

Mr. Pratter, who understands it as well as any body, but I believe never liked it enough to concern himself in it, has allowed with me, *That the Private Trade was carried on in Sloops from Jamaica to great Advantage for some Years during the War of Queen Anne. Vide Appendix.* But then we were both also of Opinion, that this Trade ruined by Causes utterly remote and foreign to the S. S. Company, and before this had any Being, was never likely to revive again to any such degree, until *Spain* itself relapsed into its pristine Sloth and Indolence of Government; and that therefore, as Matters now stand, the parting with the *Affiento* in dependance upon the other Trade again, might prove a parting with the Substance for the Shadow; which wou'd be the more impolitick, in as much as Experience has shewn, as in the Year 1723, that it is possible both
may

may subsist very profitably together: But in order to this, a little more Prudence, and less Noise, may perhaps be requisite, and prove of more use, than all the Clamour this Writer wou'd endeavour to make about it.

I am here aware of the Opening I give this Writer to turn this Hush upon my self; but I must tell him once for all, I despise all Insinuations of this kind; bidding him defiance; and tho' it might be inexcusable in us to vaunt our own Services, by which we cou'd expect little but the Laugh from the wise in this Generation; yet I may be allow'd to say, we are under no Apprehension of being suspected for Breach of Trust: Which he has my full Consent to offer to the Parliament, as often as it is committed knowingly and wilfully to the Prejudice of their Principals, to be made Felony in all Factors and Agents whatsoever.

Now to shew the plain Fact; that *Jamaica* was not in actual Possession of this supposed valuable Trade at the time of the Erection of the *British Assiento* Company; I need say little more than refer the Reader to the *Appendix*.

The Seamen have been shewn to be gone already, and the Writer himself allows the Trade went before them. Alas! How precarious was its Subsistence, how short its Continuance in any Exaltation! Wise and cautious Men stood looking on with their Money in their Hands, and did not dare to stake a Bet, till the Table was removed and the Scene vanish'd. Every body who knows any thing of those Times and those Affairs, cannot well be ignorant, unless wilfully, that after the Loss of *Gandy's* and several other valuable Sloops, some taken, some overset in Chace, and the Ruin which follow'd of some of the most flourishing Houses that ever engaged in this Trade, which proves that this was liable to its Hazards as well as others: After these

Misfor-

Misfortunes, I say, all which happened before the *S. S.* Company was thought on, this private Trade lay sunk almost in Despair, nor rear'd its Head again, but thro' the Help and Assistance of the Company it self, which this Writer treats as its only implacable Enemy. *Vide Appendix.*

I come now to the Second Point, What Number of Seamen this Trade, in its most flourishing Condition, may reasonably be supposed to have maintain'd; in which I have taken the liberty to differ with this Writer at least one half of his Assertion.

But, I confess, I think it impossible to determine this Number with any certainty. I have allowed him his full Fifteen Hundred to the Privateers and Traders together, but I know not how to separate them; the Time I have pitch'd upon as of the greatest Prosperity of this Trade, was Time of War; the same Men often traded with Commissions of War in their Pockets; when the Sloops made Trading Voyages, they were furnish'd with Arms, and the same Number of Men, as if they had been fitted for War, and design'd for no other Purpose; and inasmuch as the one Hand plaid into the other, and Trading Voyages were made of Cargoes of Prize-Goods, taken some times from the *Spaniards* themselves, and sold them again; first changing their Properties upon Condemnation, and valued at much less than the prime Cost in *Europe*; which producing great Profit, was able to afford an Armament, that no other sort of Trade, in any ordinary Channel, can possibly do: This was really trading, but it was with Arms in their Hands at the same time, to take or to defend; and in this blended State of Trade and War, who can divide the Seamen?

Nor let this be construed as an Aspersion upon those Traders in general; I mean it not as such:
Trade

Trade at that time could not with any safety be otherwise carried on, than by arm'd Sloops or Convoys of Men of War, which were not always to be had, or were not always preferr'd by the Traders themselves; and tho' these seem repugnant Principles to subsist together, yet they did so to a Wonder, where the Commanders proved Men of strict Honour and Justice, whereof many were found which may be parallel'd, but not outdone: Capt. *Gandy*, for an Instance, did as gallant Actions in War, and was at the same time a Trader of as much Honour and strict Justice, even in the Esteem of the *Spaniards* themselves, as any Man whatever. But I wish I cou'd say all those Commanders had acted like him; whereas the intercepting the *Spanish* trading Canoes by virtue of Commissions of War, and Capt. *Colbey's* taking the *Chagre* Fleet, are known Exceptions to it, and did not only occasion the limiting the extent of those Commissions by Act of Parliament, but did infinitely more Damage to the *Jamaica* Traders, both in Point of Credit and Interest, than was left in the Power of any after-born Company to do. *Vide Appendix.*

This was the State of the *Jamaica* private Trade, and this the Desertion of above Fifteen Hundred Seamen, which, according to this Writer, were maintain'd by it, (unless as aforesaid;) which he has thought himself justifiable in representing to a Minister of State, in order to give *his Grace* a clear and perfect Idea of the whole Affair; and next, what? Why not only to induce the Payment of reasonable Duties on their Slaves, but with an avowed Design of discrediting the Trade of the S. S. Company, as destructive to the *British* Commerce and Plantations in general, but more especially that of *Jamaica*.

Parturiunt montes! —

C

When

When I reflect on this Writer's Prowess and undaunted Courage at Assertions, I am surpris'd he did not proceed to tell his Grace, that before the *British* Company had the *Assiento*, there was standing in *Jamaica* one of the largest and most beautiful Towns in all *America*; that it covered above Fifty Acres of Ground, all well built and fortified, that there were whole Streets of the Height and Model of the Houses in *London*, and was furnished with all imaginable Conveniencies for Shipping and Trade, in which and in People it abounded, having also one of the most spacious and safest Harbours in the World; but that since the *S. S. Company* had been erected, and had establish'd the *Assiento* in another Town in the same Island, the former delightful Scene was quite vanish'd, the Town once so famous and so considerable, being become little better than a fishing Town in comparison to what it was, not half the Houses standing, nor one sixth Part of the People left, *who have removed themselves, their Wives and Children to other Places*; the *Spanish* Trade being in a manner lost, and even the Harbour itself not so safe as formerly it was. All this, and much more of the same kind, might have been added by this Writer, with equal Justice and Truth, the naked Fact itself being true: And that it is so, I am as much concerned at, as he or any other Well-wisher to so valuable a Part of the *British* Dominions can possibly be; but I shou'd be just such another Writer as himself, if I shou'd thus leave off my Narration, and not inform the Reader, that all this happened not from the *S. S. Company*, but from two most dreadful Calamities of Earthquake and Fire, which, long before they were thought of, had befallen *Port-Royal*.

Now, tho' I think I have spoke fully to the two Points of Trade and Seamen, so far as either can be thought possibly to have been affected by
the

the S. S. Company, as not having preceded their Establishment very many Years, yet I must account with this Writer for what I have ventured to say of my Belief as to all preceding Times: He indeed troubles not his Head much with Circumstances, but contenting himself with Generalities, and one Epoch, wou'd have you believe that all the Times before the Company, were one continued Æra of Golden Days, and all since, Ruin and Decay; if therefore he does not like to be confin'd to that unlucky Crisis of Time I have chose for him, I will endeavour to go back with him to the Infancy of the Colony, and see how we are like to fit him better.

I cannot deny but he expresses himself clear enough here, in Point of Time; *A Spanish Trade*, says he, *open'd in the Infancy of the Colony*: But then the only Clew he furnishes his Reader with, to discover what kind of Trade this was, is the Word *formidable* in p. 2. where he says his *Fifteen Hundred Seamen made the Island formidable to its Neighbours*.

Now I never knew a *Hive of Bees formidable* to any body who let them alone; these being always employed themselves inoffensively, seldom alarm or terrify their Neighbours. By this Description therefore of *formidable*, I fancy this Writer had in his Thoughts another Set of brave Traders (not the mechanick sort) which flourish'd in the Infancy of *Jamaica*, and which most People have known best under another Denomination: But whether any one general Name takes in the lawful and unlawful Warriors of those Days, for among his Number I fear will be found of both sorts, I protest I am not well enough vers'd in the History to be positive; and therefore shall speak of them with due Caution, and not mix Heroes with the Vermine of the Earth.

But if this be the Time, and these the Seamen he fixes upon, I do believe with him that there were *above Fifteen Hundred employ'd in this Trade, which were formidable to their Neighbours*; and all the Difficulty that remains upon him, is to fix their Destruction upon the S. S. Company; to which all the help I can give him is to tell him, that I never knew an Incident of any Value, and that made considerably to the Author's main Point, rejected in a Romance, because of a small difference in Point of Time of Forty or Fifty Years, or so; if *Virgil* himself was to be so severely criticis'd, what would become of his Credit as an Historian?

But I confess myself at this Time mov'd with some Indignation against this Writer. How coldly does he pass over the Memories of Men, whose Achievements deserve to be celebrated by abler Pens than ours; and whilst he can tell the World of the just Fame of an * Admiral, of which no Mortal upon Earth is ignorant, leave in Oblivion those whose Cause he pretends to espouse, and such as merit Statues and Trophies in *Jamaica*, to their immortal Honour!

I own I have read with pleasure, among the oldest Records of that Island, the Resolutions of a Council of War, to this effect; I think it was upon Occasion of Sir *Harry Morgan's Trading Expedition to Panama*; to wit.

1. That too long a Peace would enervate their Militia, and destroy their Discipline.
2. That War would keep up the Martial Spirit of the People.
3. That this would make Money plenty in the Island.

This last Resolution seems only

* *Sir Charles Wager's taking the Galleons in 1708.*

calculated then to take in such groveling Minds, as that of our Writer.

But War being thus resolved, a Handful of Heroes embark; they sail, they land, they march, *through a wild, rainy, mountainous and unwholsome Country*, (such as this Writer tells you destroys the S. S. Company's Negroes, in easy Journies) and forcing all the Enemy's strong Passes in their way, at length reach the *South Seas*, where they drive the *Spaniards*, vastly superior to them in Number, out of their Capital City, *Panama*, which they take, plunder, and return.

I wish I was able to do Justice to such Exploits. But how does this Writer of Memoirs treat such a Passage in the History of his own Country, in his Narration? Why, instead of celebrating the Glory of these Men, and justifying their Fame, by informing his Readers, that *Jamaica* being first settled upon the most honourable Foundation, that of a Military Colony, after the Manner of the *Romans*, they still carry'd on a rightful War against the same Enemy, which they had dispossessed of *Jamaica*, and with whom no general Peace had yet been made, wherein the *Indies* were included; instead of this, I say, which was the least could be said on the mention of those Times, he sinks in his Account all that is great and honourable, which is contained in the two first Resolutions of the Council of War, for which he gives you nothing but the Word *formidable*; and by fixing upon them the latter only, which he calls *Occasioning a Circulation of Money*, dwindles these Heroes into *Private Traders*, with no other earthly Design, that I can find out, than to raise them again after 40 Years Rest, and make use of them, like *Bays's* dead Men, to be driven again off the Stage by the S. S. Company.

I could here indulge myself in farther applauding Merit, as much as this Writer seems to have taken
plea-

pleasure in confounding of Story; but that the Treaties of general Peace coming on, tho' several Years after the Restoration, this Heroick Race of Men not being extinct, some of them could not reconcile themselves to private Life, but set their Virtue against the Law, nor can now appear but with *faded Lustre*; over whom I shall therefore throw a Veil, and for fear of tiring my Reader, hasten to conclude this Affair of Private Trade and Seamen, by Argument and Observation, since I despair of doing it by Discovery of any Foundation in Fact for this Writer's Assertion.

And my Argument stands thus :

The greater Extent of Trade must necessarily, I think, always employ the greater Number of Hands, whether Landmen or Seamen.

Now, for about two Years of this last opening of the *Affiento*, the Company's Agents at *Jamaica* being fully provided with Slaves, did therewith (as I do verily believe) carry on as great an Extent of Trade with the *Spaniards*, as ever the Private Traders did, in the like Time, in Negroes and *European* dry Goods (not Prize) both together, and return'd as much Bullion to *Britain*; therefore the Number of Seamen employ'd by the Company, were sufficient at all Times to carry on the same Value or Quantity in private Trade.

But says this Writer, p. 20. *Negroes were the least Part of the Commerce of the Private Traders*. This flatly makes against him in Point of Number of Seamen, because the same Vessel which can carry but 10000 *l.* in Negroes, may carry ten Times that Value in Goods, and require fewer Hands, because Goods neither eat, nor drink, nor rebel.

Again; It has been observed, that in the Year 1723, the Private Traders had a considerable Spirit of Trade in Goods as well as Negroes; from whence I argue,

That

That in the Year 1723, there having been betwixt the Company and Private Traders together, at least as much Trade carried on as ever was by the Private Traders alone in any one Year; it follows necessarily, that either as many Seamen were employ'd in it, and then the Company had not drove them away, or such a Number as this Writer asserts was never necessary, and consequently were never employed in this Trade, properly so call'd: Let him take which Side of the Dilemma he pleases.

The *Dutch* have had, generally speaking, above twice the Number of Ships of Force trading all along that Coast, that *Jamaica* has had, of Trading Sloops; and I very much doubt, if ever their Number of Seamen, at one Time, reach'd to Fifteen Hundred.

But on this Head comes in this Writer's sly Observation, p. 19. *Though possibly, says he, there might have been a VERY CONSIDERABLE Private Trade carried on, which perhaps some of HIS FRIENDS are able to explain.* For the sake of a little Popularity, he is content to demolish his own Building with his own Hands. This must allude to a *very considerable Private Trade* in the Company's Snows, or else 'tis nothing to the Purpose; and then my Argument, as to his Seamen, will stand thus:

That Two Hundred Men in constant Employ in six Snows of the Company's, were able to carry on a *very considerable Private Trade*, over and above the Company's Negroes, and consequently over and above what was ever before carried on by the Private Traders of *Jamaica* with above Fifteen Hundred. The rest I am to answer for to the Company; nor am I afraid, in behalf of the Interest he betrays, to open the Eyes of this Writer, by telling him, that the real Enemies of Private Trade, of any Kind, can be none of his fast Friends.

But

But his Seamen, *p. 17.* are such as are settled with *their Wives and Families.* To which I answer, That the Company, *in the Method they have carry'd on their Trade at Jamaica,* have employ'd many such, and always prefer'd them, as the Seamen themselves have also done the Service of the Company, to such a Degree, as to solicit for and thankfully accept 50*s.* per Month, *Jamaica Money,* in their Employ, preferably to 4*l.* and 4*l.* 10*s.* per Month, in that of any Private Traders whatsoever.

And the Reason of this Preference is plain, because the Company's Service is a constant Employ, which the other is not : And how this Difference can contribute to the Company's driving away *Seamen with their Wives and Families,* and to the others fixing them, is left to this Writhe further to explain.

It would be endless to shew all the Mistakes of this Writer ; his Voyages to *Carthagera* and *Portobello,* are stated alike, *p. 4.* whereas the Latter generally takes twice the Time of the Former, and both as much again as he allows.

But to proceed to the rest of his main Proposition : The Company must be answerable for all these Losses, *p. 2, 3.* " When it is considered, *says he,* " that if there was no such Contract in Being, " or if it was in the Hands of ANY OTHER " NATION, (no matter which, it seems in the Opinion of this Writer, so *Britain* has it not) " they could not carry it on without the Assistance " of the *English,* and without Trading with the " Inhabitants of *Jamaica.*" Will he give me leave to add two or three Words to make this plain; to wit, to a greater Extent and Degree than the *S. S. Company* have done. This he must allow to be his Meaning, or else he says nothing to the Prejudice of the Company, or the Advantage of *Jamaica.*

And

And does this Writer of Politicks really think, that if the *French* had the *Assiento* again, they would trade more with *Jamaica* than the *S. S. Company* have done? Or if they did, would more contribute to the enriching, peopling, and strengthening of it? Here his Fears from the Neighbourhood of *Hispaniola*, p. 33. are laid aside; and in the Service of Private Trade, or rather for any seeming Argument against the *S. S. Company*, a perfect Confidence is rais'd in the *French*. They were under a Necessity, says he, p. 3. when they had the *Assiento*, of purchasing great Numbers of Negroes from the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* (intimating, that the same would follow again) **NOT ONLY FOR THE ASSIENTO, BUT FOR THEIR OWN PLANTATIONS.** Which, p. 33. he tells you are increasing, to the endangering the Safety, as well as the Prosperity, of *Jamaica*. What an Advocate is here for so important an Island!

But for the sake of *Jamaica* and its Inhabitants, I must not quit this Subject, and leave them under this Reproach: Let this Writer consider it again; Is this Fact true or false? Did the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* sell great Numbers of Negroes at that Time to the *French*, not only for the *Assiento*, **BUT FOR THEIR OWN PLANTATIONS?** Take care; these last can't be supposed to have gone to *Carthagea*, but to the *French* Settlements on *Hispaniola*; with whom, I believe, it was, at that very Time, **HIGH-TREASON** to trade; and am sure, it was a Trade of a treasonable Nature: and whether true or false, is a much greater Calumny upon the Island in general, than any he has set forth as from Enemies, in this extraordinary Piece.

For can any thing be supposed more absurd, or more repugnant to the Common Interest, than that for the Sake of a little Gain to a few Particulars,

any Society should suffer, much less encourage, the furnishing two powerful neighbouring Nations, united in War against them, not only with the Means of carrying on an absolutely necessary and beneficial Trade to both, but to the strengthening of *Hispaniola*, which, you have his own Word for it, is *Jamaica*'s most formidable Neighbour and Rival in the Sugar and other Plantations produce? I own, I cannot believe this; and if this Writer knows of any such vile Practices, that were privately and clandestinely carried on, the best Atonement he can make to *Jamaica* and its Inhabitants, for this general Aspersion, is to detect the Parties therein concerned, and their secret Methods of carrying on such a pernicious and treasonable Trade; in which, as *Britain* it self is equally concern'd, I am very glad he has given this Hint to a *Minister* watchful for its Safety, that such Practices as these may be better look'd to hereafter, and prevented.

And can any Reader, after this, think, with this Writer, that the *French*, in Case they have the *Assiento* again, will trade more with *Jamaica*, than the *S. S. Company* have done? Or if we should fall out with them again, that *Jamaica* would think it its own Interest, or *Britain* think it theirs, to drive this Trade with them? Or can we pretend to say, that *France*, in undertaking the *Assiento*, must absolutely depend upon us? They have once undertook it, when we were their declared Enemies, and yet they had an Overplus of Negroes, it seems, for their Plantations; whereof they settled a great Number of Sugar-Works, during that War; if we helpt them, the more shame for us. For, however it may be justly argued by lawful Traders in Time of Peace, that they may indeed sit still and leave other Nations to take the Benefit of supplying their Neighbours with Materials for Improvement of their Lands; but that it is not possible for them to hinder

hinder such Improvements being made; and therefore, that the Inhabitants of *Jamaica* may as well take this Advantage, as leave it to other Nations; but to do this in Time of War, was a Practice, which such a Writer alone, as I have to do with, would attempt to defend.

Nor let us be altogether so confident of our Superiority in the Trade to *Africa*, until we are more united in this respect, as well as others, among our selves. I am no Party Man between the *African Company*, and seperate Traders to that Coast; but I can see in this, as in many other Respects, that we are the weaker there, by our Divisions; and I have heard, what I believe to be true, that the *French* have beat us out of some of our Settlements in the River *Gambia*, as the *Portuguese* have destroy'd others in *Angola*: And tis a Question, whether the *Dutch*, who have supplied both the *French* and *Spaniards*, and even some of our own Plantations, with great Numbers of Negroes from *Statia* and *Curacoa*, are not able to do us more Damage than both *French* and *Portuguese* have done on the Coast of *Guinea*, whenever they please, unless better Care be taken of some of our Forts and Castles. But without carrying this Point any further; is there a sufficient Foundation, or does it become any *Englishman*, but this Scribler, at a Time when the several Inclinations and Interests of the Powers of *Europe* seem more intricate and entangled than ever, to tell them all, that, as to the Trade to *Africa*, *Britain* gives the Law; as to the *Assiento*, *Jamaica*: He might, with as much Reason, have said it of *GIBRALTAR*: But, I fear, unless it be done by Treaties, it must be such Heroick Private Traders, as his were in the first Settlement of *Jamaica*, that must determine such arduous Points as these.

But I must still follow my Leader, slightly passing by many lesser Mistakes, or I should never get to the End; such are, what he says about Provi-

sions, *p. 5*. Has he never heard, that where the Carrion is there will be the Crows; this Simile will please him, but it proves however, that the Northern, as well as Negroe Traders will send their Commodities to that Place, wherever it be, where the Company settles the *Affiento*; and that therefore the Island have been obliged to the Company, and not the Company to the Island in this Respect.

Thus again, in regard to Freight, it is a known Difference of Twenty Shillings *per Head* in Negroes, between the Windward Islands and *Jamaica*; the Company having always paid Twenty Shillings *per Head* more to *Jamaica* than to *Barbadoes*; and for this Twenty Shillings *per Head* extraordinary, paid by the Company, the Planters of *Jamaica* have had the Freight of their Sugars so much the cheaper to *Britain*, as the Outward-bound Freight helps to make up for a lesser Home. What has been in this Man's Head, when he Debits the Company Sixteen Thousand *per Ann.* to the Island on this Article? *p. 6*.

And with what Facility, *p. 6, 7, 8*, does he answer an Observation made at the Council-Board by a *Noble Person*, upon export Duties; which, if I took right, was made to shew how cautiously they were to be laid; and that in general, the Export was to be encouraged by Allowance of a Draw-back. — To which this Writer—*NEGROES, MY LORD*, says he, *in the Plantations, may be compared to WOOL in England*. What then? Why, if he would have carried on his Parallel, according to the Truth of the Fact, he must have said, Therefore as an *Encouragement* is given in *England* for the *Importation* of Wool, we lay a heavy Duty, in *Jamaica*, upon the *Importation* of *Negroes*. What a Parallel is here! and yet the Fact won't allow it to be mended. The Duty is Ten Shillings *per Head* on Import; and I thought my self obliged to inform their Lordships,

ships, at the Council-Board, that the Company had paid Duty for above Five Hundred dead Negroes, which had cost them about 7*l.* per Head Freight, and produc'd them not a Ryal, and for above Five Hundred more, not worth above 10*l.* per Head. This Duty, Mr. *Richard Harris*, a Merchant then present, and than whom no Body understands this Trade better, or is more to be credited, told their Lordships, was really more burthenfome than even the Export Duty, as he explain'd further from his own feeling: And could the Directors of the S. S. Company answer to their Principals, the not complaining of such Hardships as these, as well as of the great Amount of the whole Duties, Import and Export, being above 18,000*l.* in about Four Years full Trade? And yet this Writer has the Assurance to tell a Noble Lord, who heard all this, and in order to its being laid before His most Sacred Majesty, for the repealing of an Instruction given to Governour *Hunter*, that it had been thought necessary in Jamaica, in Imitation of England, with respect to Wool, to make the Importation of Negroes easy, and to lay the Duty on Exportation. Would not every Reader have concluded that there had been no Duty at all on Importation? This Duty, which as to Importation is here quite drop'd, *being made easy*, is in the next Paragraph said to fall on the Consumer, and not on the Importer, the distinction of Import and Export being here omitted; shall I say *artfully* or *disingenuously*? Let the Reader judge that, and where it falls; and let the Writer blush if he can.

The next Argument, p. 7. is to make what went before to be *allowed more reasonable*, and to give the NOBLE PERSON who made the Objection clearer Ideas from another parallel Case, that of Drugs, from which, as he has laid it down, I confess I can frame no Idea at all, but what makes against his
Import

Import Duty as clear as the other Case ; and as to a Duty upon Export, he has either wrong transcribed the Act, or not given us enough to understand its Meaning.

But his Inference, p. 8. is beyond all the rest : If I understand it right, it amounts to this, *Colonies being dependent on the Mother Country, are to follow its Maxims*. Wherefore, as the Mother Country gives a Premium upon Importation of Wool from *Foreign Countries*, and (partly to encourage *their own Plantations*) admit the Import of all Dying Woods Duty Free, therefore *the Dependent Colony* may reasonably lay Duties on the Manufactures of the Mother Country ; I say Manufactures in general, for why not upon all *British Goods*, as well as Negroes, since these are the Produce of Woollens and other *British Manufactures*, and are all alike *necessary to the Plantations*, and alike exported from thence to the *Dominions of a Foreign Prince*? This is call'd following of Maxims, which is going directly opposite ; to follow the Maxims, in his way of Reasoning, is to tell the Mother Country in plain *English*, you lay Duties upon our Sugars, and we follow your Maxims by laying them upon your Wool, or upon your Negroes, it makes no difference.

And can he possibly flatter himself that any particular Men in *Jamaica*, much less so wise and experienced a Governor, or the Council and Assembly, will thank him for this? And won't he be told by his Friends, that he has gone out of his Depth, that his Zeal might have been commendable, and he might have been of some use in making a Noise, and clamouring against the *S. S. Company* in general terms, or if he had pick'd up more Scraps for the *Craftsman*, and got *him* to work them up as he did the *Queries*, there had been no great harm in it ; but to fall upon the Privy-Council, and to attempt to expose their Judgments, and to handle
himself

himself such Points as he has done, in doing which he has more misrepresented the Island, and especially in the Charge of *Independency*, (v. p. 34.) than all the *prejudiced Persons*, or its *basest Enemies* had ever done before him, or had been able to do ; and that therefore after all this, he must no longer expect they can appear for him, approve his Conduct, or own his Sentiments, much less recommend him for a Solicitor for the Island, which wou'd now give too much Colour for their being supposed to have countenanc'd his Proceedings hitherto. So much I owe in Justice to the Injuries this Writer has done *Jamaica* ; the rest I leave to the Privy-Council.

There is one Particular I find I overlook'd in p. 2. which being of the same Stamp with what goes before, may do as well to be remarked here ; and as it regards Truth, it ought not to be omitted, *The Company*, says he, *dispute paying the SAME DUTIES which the Private Traders paid for many Years.* Here, first, they are called *the same Duties* : This, I fear, I must call a Falshood, because I think I may be pretty positive that there was no Import Duty before the Company had the *Assiento*. Secondly, The Private Traders indeed have paid the Duties, but they have all along complained of them ; and the Petitions, both of the Merchants of *London* and *Bristol* for Relief, were now before the Council-Board, as well as the Company's : Nor will it be sufficient for him to say now that he meant other Private Traders, he ought to have explained it, and not have deceived his Readers ; who, I dare say, will own, that they imagined all Private Traders had *contentedly* paid them : This therefore must pass for a Prevarication.

We must now go again to p. 8. *Thus, my Lord, I have shewn, &c.* His Talent it seems did not lie in speaking, p. 1. He has now shown what it is at Writing ; but I have not done with this Paragraph.

Wherein

Wherein I must take Notice of these Words, p. 9. *And exercised in the Manner they have done.* He had emptied his Quiver at the *Assiento* it self, with Reserve of this one Arrow aimed in particular at the Execution; his Meaning, as I take it, is fully explained, p. 18, 23, 24, &c. to allude to the Company's trading themselves to *Guinea*; and this is another masterly Stroke of this Writer. I confess, in the first cursory Reading of this Piece, fancying I had the Author all along in my Eye, when I came to this Part of the Charge, it puzzled me extreamly; for I could scarce think it possible that *the very Person* who had clamour'd loudest at the Company's buying up all the Negroes in *Jamaica*, and thereby rendring them scarce and dear to the Planters, and who had prevailed with the Lords Commissioners of Trade, chiefly upon his own Information, to report the Matter in this Light to his Majesty, could be *the same Person*, who now, dropping the Planters and his former Grievances, of Scarcity and Dearthness, tells his Grace, that the Company having already made Negroes plenty and cheap in *Jamaica*, are about to ruin all the Merchants to *Guinea*, by occasioning Negroes to be so very cheap, that no private Merchant will be able to afford them; and who therefore must either leave off the Trade, or be ruined, p. 25. But having, on a little Consideration, fully satisfy'd my self of this Writer's great Talent this way, I no longer doubted. It must be he; 'tis a Unique, and there can be no other: And does not such a Mole deserve to be unearth'd, and —? No, don't do that, he has done you no harm; leave that to himself to do, or to his Friends in *Jamaica*, when they catch him: Well, for the sake of our Friend *M—ro*, I spare him.

What is said afterwards of the Company's having it in their Power to set what Price they please on Negroes

groes, as well as the Product of the Island, was the least he could say to make up with the Planters again, for having turned Cat in Pan with them upon this Occasion. But his Reasoning on this Subject, and his chimerical Inferences, are not, I think, capable of being more exposed, than as they stand martialld by himself.

But to give full Satisfaction to the Reader concerning the Company's Proceedings on this Head : The Fact is thus ; when the Method of Supply of Slaves came under the Consideration of the Court of Directors, at the last opening the *Assiento*, it was found upon looking back, that some Loss had been sustained under the preceeding Direction, by their Trade to *Africa*; and as I was now chose one of the Company's Agents, the Court was pleased to ask my Opinion in this Matter, which I gave, according to the best of my Judgment, for their trusting to the Market, and buying there; verily believing that this would be their cheapest Method, and that such ready Money Buyers would never want any Supply which they should require, at any Place whatsoever, where they should once fix the *Assiento*, and timely Notice thereof be given to the Merchants; nor did I think, however I proved mistaken, that there was any room or reason hereby to fear any Damage arising to the Planters, from such an Encouragement to a Common Market, but rather that the contrary was to be inferr'd, and that by creating Abundance, Cheapness, &c. would follow, v. *Appendix*.

Mr. Pratter has since agreed with me in Opinion, that Necessity alone of a Supply of Negroes ought to induce the Company to prefer trading to *Guinea* themselves; but that it were still better for them, even to lose something upon the *Guinea* Trade, rather than want Negroes for the *Assiento*, since their Duties were to be paid in all Events,
E
and

and their Charges the same under a deficient, as a full Supply of the *Assiento*.

The Court of Directors, in setting out this last Time, took a middle way, which, I believe, will be allowed by every body to have been the best; which was, to make sure of some certain Number, and leave the rest to Experience. This secured themselves in some Measure, and prevented any sudden Scarcity to the Plantations from the Company's immediate Demand; and so they concluded a Contract with the Royal *African* Company for 3,000 Slaves to be delivered them at *Jamaica* the first Year, and afterwards made another for 600 more, to follow as soon as possible.

It happened however, that both these Methods of Supply proved insufficient. The Royal *African* Company failed in furnishing their full Complement, which obliged us to purchase of the Private Merchants such a Number, as raised the Clamour before observed, of the Planters against the Company, for exporting all the Negroes, whilst they imported none.

And to such an Extremity were the Company reduc'd, for want of Negroes to supply the *Assiento*, in the Year 1723, that the private Merchants did not only raise the Price upon us considerably, but told us, if we would not come up to those Prices, they would carry their Negroes to the *Spanish* Coast themselves; which some did actually do, and I believe did not sell them the very choicest Negroes in Parcel, at above One Hundred and Thirty Pieces of Eight *per* Head, notwithstanding the great Want of the *Spaniards*, thro' the Company's Deficiency; and here I must once again tell this Writer, that *such Negroes as those were*, meaning the *Bartley Galley's*, for an Instance, will at all Times fetch from Two Hundred and Sixty to Three Hundred Pieces of Eight *per* Head, when sold by the

the *Affiento*; he would not forgive me if I should add, would fetch Four Hundred Pieces of Eight, if it was not for private Trade. Here let the Reader remark, that the Company's Prices in Woolen and other Goods, are above those of the Private Traders, near as much in Proportion as those of Negroes; and whether the *British* or *Spanish* Nation reaps the Benefit of this difference of Price between the Company's and Private Trade, or by which of the Two the *Spanish* Plantations are most likely to be encouraged and encreas'd, I once agree with this Writer, deserves the serious Consideration of every well-wisher to the Commerce of *Great-Britain*, and of its Plantations. Upon this Subject, how pathetically does he move his Grace to the Consideration of their Interest, with respect to Negroes; *It is Negroes that make Sugar and Indigo; it is Negroes that plant Cotton and Ginger; it is Negroes, &c.* p. 8. And in p. 23. *How far it may therefore be reasonable, says he, to restrain the Company and Others in the Number of Negroes which they export to particular Places, &c.* This is honestly said, in adding the Words **AND OTHERS**, the Private Traders as well as the Company; and I wish it could be done by *Britain*, in restraining **ALL OTHER NATIONS**, as well as themselves, wherein lies the difficulty of this Proposition; but I dare venture to say the Company will have no Objection to this; and until it can be brought about, I'll tell him an Expedient: Let our own Private Traders sell none under the Company's Prices, and the Advantage in Manufacturing all the *West-India* Produce, will remain sufficiently on the side of our own Plantations.

But to proceed; this Want of Negroes was the visible Necessity of the Company's Trading again to *Africa*, from which, before this Writer excludes them absolutely as *Affientists*, he will, I hope, make a Contribution for them among the Private Traders,

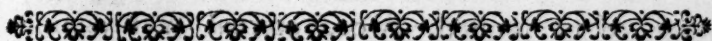
to pay the King of *Spain's* Duties, which must be paid whether they import the Negroes or not. In short, it is ridiculous and absurd to suggest any Aims of the Company's by this Trade to *Guinea*, except their own Supply, to which they have been forc'd for that End, and which, I speak my belief, they will be glad to give up, upon reasonable Assurance of a sufficient Supply of Slaves for the *Assiento* by any other Means, and without being exposed to the Want of Slaves again, and at the same Time to such contradictory and groundless Clamours. Unlucky Company! and more unlucky Managers! who in the execution of a national Contract, at once stand charged with buying all the Negroes, and thereby ruining the Planters; with not buying, and thereby ruining the Merchants; with importing Negroes in Prejudice of These, and not importing them in Prejudice of the Others; with destroying private Trade, and thereby preventing the Exportation of *British* Manufactures; with conniving at private Trade, and thereby promoting this very Exportation: In fine, accused in the Name of their Proprietors, for betraying their Interests, and in the Name of all others, for not betraying them. Must they answer or be silent? or can any one speak and not offend?

If they should quit the *Guinea* Trade again, will the Planters be satisfied? and will not this Writer make it matter of Conscience not to deal with them? But of this I confess I am not much in pain, even as to him himself. I dare say he would be so good, and so just to the Company, as to undertake the Delivery of any Number of Negroes, for which they might contract here with any Traders to *Africa*, being consigned to him upon reasonable Commissions. Is not the Mystery unfolded? and have I really hit the Mark? And your House, you say, has lost some Commissions which you should probably

probably have had, if the Company had continued to buy all.

Hinc illæ Lacrymæ !

Confession has always something of Ingenuity in it; and you say you are sorry for it, and that you'll write on their Side next. Well, there is no Occasion for that, I shall shew that you have done that enough already, and though I think, with respect to your own Views, that you have carried the Jest a little too far. Private Men, you know, much less Companies, don't love to appear forc'd into Measures; but as this was always agreeable to my Opinion, all Malice apart, I will do you what Service I can in this respect.



P A R T II.

Wherein the Fallacies of this Writer's Assertions are further exposed; and the great Advantages of the Assiento Contract, both to Britain and Jamaica, proved fully and clearly from this Writer's own Concessions.

AFTER this *Pacification* (I wish it prove lucky) to which, as I have sufficiently shewn my Inclination, so it cannot be doubted, but it will end in Peace, if this Writer is sincere; because, I think it will appear manifest to every judicious Reader, that we shall both find our Accounts now in re-establishing the *Assiento*; and with his Assistance, and that of some of his Friends, or but the silencing of their Clamours, while we can be heard, it can be no longer difficult to convince the whole Nation, *Jamaica* included, of the Truth of this plain Proposition, That Peace is better than War;

War; and that as inconsiderable as my Antagonist and my self are, this whole Kingdom and the Trade thereof, are not less concerned than ourselves, in the good or bad Issue of our present Controversy. But in as much as *Britons* delight more in contending for Honour than Interest, I must give fair Warning to my Opponent, that I expect to find not the least Insult hereafter, upon the Rights of a *British* Company, nor even upon the meanest *British* Trader, much less upon so important an Island as *Jamaica*; if I do, I shall look upon it as an Argument of his Insincerity in this Treaty; and calling again to mind the Examples of some of his Heroes of old, such as * *Coxon*, who alledging the *Spaniards* were faithless Men, and never to be trusted, swore eternal War against them, I cannot be answerable that I shall keep my Temper and not resent it, however I may risk my own Credit or Interest thereby, with that just Indignation which is due to all Breach of Faith, among *British* Writers of any Honour or Reputation in the World.

And now let us proceed in the Examination of the rest of this Piece, which it will be his Interest now as well as mine, that I shou'd expose as much as it deserves, because it will tend to the accomplishing our main Purpose; and then he will get his Friend the *Craftsman* to publish what he thinks proper by way of Antidote for his Readers, against the possible ill Effects of his *P. S.* in his Paper, N^o 78, which an Author of his great Capacity will

* *This Coxon was one of the last of the Buccaneers, who did Wonders in Courage and Conduct; and for his Mercy shewn in Victory, his great Bravery, and Contempt of Money, which he profess'd to despise, and gave always among his Men, was seven Times pardoned by the Kings of England. He proclaimed King William at Port-Royal, before it was known there that he was King of England.*

very easily be able to do, especially as he has most fortunately provided himself therein with these Words, to wit, "If the Facts alledged in it, says he, (speaking of the Pamphlet he was celebrating) "are true, which indeed are very plausibly set forth;" these last Words won't be less useful to him now, than they were before, seeing he may still compliment the Writer as to his Skill, and tell his Readers he was so very *artful*, that he was enough to deceive *the very elect*; and protest, that with all his Care and Circumspection which he constantly takes not to be imposed upon himself, much more not to impose upon his Readers, he may ingenuously confess, that this once he himself has been deceived; and that upon further Examination of the Facts alledged by this Writer, instead of finding them to be true, there is scarce any thing in the whole Pamphlet that is not compounded of the grossest Misrepresentations, Absurdities, Prevarications and Falshoods, that ever he met with in any one Piece; that this has made him justly suspect the Foundation in Truth of the *Queries* he published some time ago on the Credit of the same Writer, in which he is deeply affected with his own Consciousness, as having done it at that time with *design'd Prejudice* to an Honourable Person, and to deprive the City of so useful a Representative; but that he hopes his Readers, and all the World, will forgive him this, and numberless other Transgressions he finds he has been guilty of, of like nature, upon his severe Humiliation and Repentance at this Season; having, as he assures them, applied his own Doctrine of political Regeneration to himself, and, for the future, most seriously resolved to publish no Facts of any moment, but such as he shall first have taken all possible Pains to be fully informed about, and in his own Conscience shall be verily perswaded of and believe to be true; much less

less will he suffer himself ever hereafter to be drawn into the guilt of publishing such Facts or Reasonings as concern *Christian* and *Moral Duties*, as well as *Political*, whereby honest and inoffensive Men, however obscure or inconsiderable, may be wounded in their Reputations, and stigmatis'd as false Witnesses (the greatest of all Condemnations both among Christians and Moralists) by his means throughout the World. But as it wou'd be Rashness and Folly in me to attack a Writer of this Magnitude beyond the just Limits of Self-Defence; so I make not the least doubt, but he will be less credulous hereafter, of such Writers, and their Intelligence, and think himself under an indispensable Obligation, both as a Christian, a Moralist, and a Gentleman, as well as a political Writer, to make my Innocence, at least my Defence, as publick, as he design'd my Transgressions.

But to return to my Pamphleteer: In *p. 9.* he opens a new Scene thus; *I shall now inquire*, says he, *into the Merits of the S. S. Company's Petition*, &c. and so, without any further Formality, or regard to the Opinion of the Privy-Council, proceeds himself to *p. 19.* to try this Cause over again; and in order to justify his own Sentence, differing it seems from that of their Lordships, he makes the Company's Witness say what he pleases, and then gives Judgment.

This is a Matter that concerns the Judicatory of the Dernier Resort from all his Majesty's Plantations; and to be thus treated, is in my humble Opinion the greatest of all Calumnies, and of the worst Tendency to the Security and quiet Enjoyment of our Peace and Properties Abroad; for what regard can be expected to be paid to final Decisions in Causes, or what Opinion must the Subject entertain of Judgments the most solemnly pronounced?

nounc'd? Where shall be our resting Place? If a Court, usually consisting of a President, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord-Chancellor, the Lord Privy-Seal, the two Lord Chief Justices, the Master of the Roils, besides the other Great Men of which this Board is compos'd, after full Deliberation, I say, upon the Subject's Complaints, shall not give Counsel to his most sacred Majesty, without being called in Question by such a Writer, who complains to the Kingdom, under Disguise of a Letter to a Secretary of State, that they have laid their Judgments *on a wrong Foundation*, and suggests it to have been done in Prejudice of an Island of *vast Importance* to Britain, in a most *equitable and reasonable Point*, scattering throughout his Work Insinuations, as if the Safety of *Jamaica* as well as its Prosperity was even endangered hereby, and all this in favour of a Company destructive to the *British* Commerce and Plantations; Would not a Stranger conclude that we lived in *Face Romuli*?

But let every *Briton* rejoyce, yea, I say rejoyce; here is indeed one ill Effect, but it springs from the best of all Causes, next to God himself, to wit, Liberty. This Writer, after all this, walks about, and struts like a Patriot, and no Warrant from a Star-Chamber has issued against him.

But such is my Regard to the solemn Decisions of Justice, that I shall not venture even to speak in their Defence, otherwise than by saying, It is the Duty of all Parties to submit to them, or to Petition for a Re-hearing; which, if this Writer had not himself is distrust'd his own Cause, he must necessarily have known to have been his only Method. He tells us, however, *p. 13. That upon reading the several Acts of Assembly, together with his Majesty's Instructions, they were found agreeable and conformable thereto.* My chief Remark upon this is to do him

Justice, as having in this one Place aim'd rightly in doing it to the Island; and as I hope he is sincere in this, and intends thereby to assure his Grace, that his Majesty may always expect the same Conformity, I make as little doubt as he does, but we shall so find it.

But in p. 15. he renews his Attack upon the Company in a very essential Point; *A Company*, says he, *which is said to give no new, no real Advantages to this Nation, &c.* By whom is this said? or does he say it himself, or report it from any other Pamphleteer, as an Argument, *pro tempore*, used at any Time past? Is it not apparent to every Man of common Sense that the *British Assiento* Contract is *new*? Had *Britain* ever that Contract before? And is it not as apparent that the Licence for an annual Ship of 650 *Spanish* Ton, to enter the *Spanish* Ports of *America*, is *new*? Had *Britain* ever any such Licence before, or any thing equal to it? Both are alike untrue. Suppose the Emperor and *Spain* had gone on with their new Alliance, and the *Ostenders* had gone with their annual Ships, to *Portobello* and *Vera Cruz*; and the Bullion which the *S. S.* Company have imported into *Britain* had gone to *Ostend*, would that have been *new*? How far these are beneficial beyond any thing we have had before, is another Point, that I have said something upon already, and shall say more before I end: But his Position is as absurd and false, as if we should now make a Treaty with *France*, and allow them every Year to export a certain Quantity of our Wool unwrought, which Quantity should prove but little more in Certainty than what they had been able in some extraordinary lucky Years to fetch away by their *Owlers*, who by this Treaty would now be prejudic'd by a less open and publick Countenance: Will this Parallel fit him with respect to Wool?—
Or as if *Spain* was by Treaty to allow *France* one or

two Permission Ships every Year into the *South Seas*: Might not particular Men in both these Cases, with equal Reason, tell the King of *France*, Sire, your Majesty has by these Treaties of Commerce got no new, no real *Acquisitions* to your Kingdom, but has destroyed two more valuable Trades, of which we were long since in Possession, and of which we have been deprived since these new Treaties of Commerce have been enter'd into.

However, to shew this to have been the Case with respect to the *S. S. Company's* Trade, is the profest Design of our Writer's Performance; and indeed, if asserting may be call'd shewing or proving, he has done it in many Places. But now let the Reader see the Force of Truth above Falshood, even out of the Mouth of this Witness himself. In p. 15. he has these Words, *So that a Wine Merchant, &c. will pay as much Duty to the Crown, &c. as the S. S. Company, which carries on a Trade from thence (Jamaica) for above half a Million of Money Yearly.* Let this be compared with his Quotation out of the *British Merchant*, p. 27. where the Private Trade is set but at Two or Three Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* in Negroes and other Merchandizes, and this the highest it was ever set at in any one Year, by any body; and is not here above Two Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* from this Writer's own Confession, of Trade that is new, and above what *Jamaica* ever had before? And is it possible a Trade for above half a Million *per Ann.* can be carried on from any Place, without being a great Advantage to that Place? Or would any other Politician but ours want to be rid of it, and that without being sure of any thing in its stead.

But I come now to those happy Days, when *Jamaica*, he owns, had something new, by the *Assiento*, from its being in the Hands, as he calls it, of the *Portuguese*; but from his Account the Reader

der will judge what share of it he has left to those *Affientists*. One would think indeed from his Description, that it was an *Utopian Contract*, that he had only given you for a Model of what he would be at: He tells you, *p.* 19, 20. That “when the
 “ *Portuguese* had the *Affiento*, they did not only buy
 “ all the Negroes at *Jamaica*, but give a *Præmium*,
 “ no less than 25 and 30 *per Cent.* for Money; and
 “ this was the more beneficial, because any Man
 “ had the Liberty of subscribing what Sum he
 “ pleased, not under One Hundred Pounds, and
 “ their Dividends were punctually paid every Voy-
 “ age, which was made in about Six Weeks.” Here
 he takes Six Weeks for Voyages to *Carthagera* and
Portobello, which before, according to him, were
 made in Fourteen Days.

But in the main, is this really true, and may this be hoped for again? Does not every body see the Company already vanquish’d? They themselves can take no Offence at this Writer, *v.* his *Preface*, in endeavouring to bring back such Halcyon Times as these.

But here is another jumble of Truth and Falshood. Don Porcio, (a *Castillian*, as I have heard) but let him pass for a *Portuguese*, was the *Affientist*, who employ’d Don Jago Castiglio as his Agent at *Jamaica*, to carry on the *Affiento* of Negroes, who having no Stock of his own, and depending on the Credit and great Profits of the Contract it self, whereby to answer his Occasions, was obliged, as I believe, to give such Premiums upon Money as this Writer asserts; in Consideration whereof he approves, you see, their Settlements at *Jamaica*, and the Private Traders pass an Act of Grace for him, which he gives you in these Words, *p.* 20. *That it was so far from being a Hindrance to the Private Trade, that it rather promoted it.* For what possible Use or Purpose of his own does this Writer blab out this Story? Here

Here first he proves the main Strefs of the Argument against himself; The *Assiento* was so far from being a Hindrance to the Private Trade, that it was a Benefit to it. What need I have labour'd as I have done, to prove that the *Assiento* Contract was not necessarily the Cause of its Ruin?

But not content without fully proving the Benefits of the *Assiento* then, to Britain as well as Jamaica, he goes on thus: By those Means, says he, the Settlement of the Portuguese Factors must be allowed to have been a very great Advantage to Jamaica. This, I suppose, alludes to the 25 and 30 per Cent. But a few Lines after follows his regard to Great Britain. For, says he, under their Cover VERY considerable Quantities of British Manufactures were yearly vended. This is said in Praise of the Portuguese *Assiento*. Now let the Reader look back but to the former Page, and he'll find him saying the same Thing, as an Argument against the British Contract. Though possibly, says he, there might have been a very considerable Private Trade carried on, which is insinuated as having been done by the Company's Agents and in their Snows.

The Fact now I take to be agreed between us, that the *Assiento* is VERY ADVANTAGEOUS both to Jamaica and Great Britain; and all the real Difference that remains, must lie in the Method by which it is carried on. I dare say this 25 or 30 per Cent. would make it up. But before I examine him a little closer to this Article of Account in the Portuguese *Assiento*, let me put him and the Reader in mind here, that he has gone much beyond me yet in setting forth the Value of the *Assiento* Contract; What Trade but this can afford 25 or 30 per Cent. on Bottomree in a six Weeks Voyage? What Trade but this can furnish such frequent Opportunities of vending Yearly in Spanish Ports in the Indies, such very considerable Quantities of British Manufactures?

Whilst

Whilst he himself tells us in the same Page, *That the Private Traders have been so far from having any Trade, excepting for a few Provisions, that above 100,000 l. Value in British Manufactures lie now at Jamaica decaying, and cannot be vendd*; and this appearing of his own shewing, to be the Condition of the *Private Trade*, at a Time when it can neither be attributed to the Company, or to the *Fidelity or Unfaithfulness* of their Servants, (both alike condemned by this Writer) who are all removed from the Coast.

Here perhaps the Reader may be curious of knowing what is the real Cause of this Obstruction: The Answer is Twofold: First, The *Spaniards* have been in no want of Goods; Secondly, They have been afraid of a Gallows which the President of *Panama* set up in *Portobel*, whilst Admiral *Hofser* lay at the *Bastimentos*, protesting he wou'd hang the first Man he shou'd catch trading with the Coast-ers. And here it may be observ'd, that this Trade is not to be forced; for tho' it is impossible for them to guard their Coast in such a manner as to prevent all Trade, yet as the great Demand is for Inland Countries, to which there are Passes well guarded, it is equally impossible to carry on any *considerable Trade*, without something like that sort of *Winking* which this Writer speaks of, p. 20. But whether, in his Account of it, he has taken a proper Method to promote *Winking*, and thereby serve his Friends of the Private Trade, every Reader will be able to judge. This same *Winking* is Death to the Royal Officers as well as others; and this Writer has judiciously determined in himself, that the way to get the Gallows pull'd down in *Portobel*, is to tell the President and Royal Officers they deserve it themselves; and yet whilst he is publishing their Crimes and Demerits, he hopes they will allow him and his Friends to enjoy the Sweet of them. And is not this a rare Private Trader to be

be trusted? Or how if this Insinuation shou'd be false, must not this be placed to his Account among his other Calumnies? Whilst, after all the Disposition this Writer may fancy, or would suggest there is, in the Royal Officers to *Winking*, all *Winking* that is voluntary, and to any considerable Purpose, has its Root in the Necessities of the *Spaniards*, as well thro' want of *Goods* as *Negroes*; which, if grown excessive, from the neglect of them by the ordinary Channel of Supply, the Government must necessarily relax its Authority to keep the People quiet; so that if you trace *Winking* to its Source, you'll find it must begin at *Madrid*, where, if they have a mind to be sharp-sighted, their Officers will also be so in the furthest *Indies*. This was sufficiently manifested, both from the Success of the *French Ships* many Years in the *South Seas*, and their Exclusion from thence afterwards by the failure of their Trade, not from any Force used to prevent their going, but by hanging up those *Spaniards* that were discovered to Trade with them; and to these Causes, and these only, are to be attributed the Disappointments of like kind which the Private Traders of *Jamaica* and the *Dutch* have sustained.

But if we may credit this Writer's Testimony on the side of the *Assiento*, in how strong a light of Advantage above this precarious Private Trade has he set his *Portuguese Contract*, which, says he, afforded a Cover for very Considerable Quantities of British Manufactures to be Yearly vended? This Cover is something he points out emphatically to his Reader, as distinguishing this from the other Private Trade; and from whence, and the Anger he has conceived against the *S. S. Company's Agents* at *Jamaica*, for not permitting the like in the Company's Sloops, or at least not permitting him to share in it, would not one be apt to conclude that the *Assiento Trade* it self, that is, the private

private Part of it, was the *Very Private Trade* this Writer has all along been extolling, in Objection to the Contract it self?

And this seems the more reasonable from the great Elogiums he has bestowed on the *Affiento* in the Hands of Don *Jago*, afterwards Sir *James Castle*, very deservedly; for it is Matter of Fact, that this was the time of *Jamaica's* greatest Prosperity, owing principally to the *Affiento* Contract being settled there; which being a constant employ of Seamen, in Trade properly so called, and a constant Indraft of Money circulated in the Island, from the several Demands of the *Affiento*, and Supply of the *Spaniards*, whose firmest and best Allies we then were, when the *French* were our common Enemies, and there was a peculiar Antipathy between those two Nations, every thing conspired to its Happiness. This indeed may be call'd its Golden Age. As yet no Hurricanes, no considerable Earthquakes, no Droughts to the laying Waste whole Parishes, had been felt in that Island. But who, besides this Writer, is ignorant of the Vicissitudes to which humane Happiness is subject, and that Man is often apt to mistake the true Nature of it, esteeming Blessings for Curses and Curses for Blessings? Which is exactly his Case at present, whilst instead of assigning the Change of Condition which *Jamaica* has undergone, to its proper and evident Causes, and rejoicing at the *Affiento* being re-established among them, as a good Omen from whence they may hope Saturnian Days are again revolving to them, he makes this the very Cause of all its Misfortunes, because, it has not brought along with it 25 and 30 *per Cent.* Premium upon their Voyages, to himself and about a Dozen more. But before I shew him that the present *Affiento* Contract is greatly more beneficial to *Jamaica*, as well as to *Britain*, than that former

former Contract was, let me here examine him a little, as to what he has asserted of that former.

Is it really true, what is said, p. 20. *That ANY MAN had the Liberty of subscribing what Sum he pleased on those Terms, and their Demands punctually paid?* This one Fact well proved, with any visible Prospect of obtaining the like again, would go near, for ought I know, to overset the S. S. Company's Trade. But it must be proved; and here I much doubt, First, Because I have been conversant among the Contemporaries of those Days, and never heard of above an inconsiderable Number who were admitted into this Bottomree Business, nor of above One who got considerably by it. And, Secondly, Because the poor *Afficientist* himself, Don Porcio, was ruined by it, and his Agent at *Jamaica*, Sir *James Castille*, died there, half starving, possessed of nothing but a Knighthood.

But suppose there had been a Dozen, suppose Twenty (neither of which Numbers, I believe, ever were concerned in one and the same Voyage) had been admitted to the Benefit of these Premiums; suppose an equal Number were capable of being benefited in like manner now; if this Writer was not one, would not he have still clamour'd, that in the Method this Trade was carrying on, not only the Island of *Jamaica* and its Private Trade was ruined, but the *British* Commerce it self endanger'd? And would not the *Craftsman* in like manner have given the Alarm, and sent it into distant Parts, with his Opinion, that what was said was very plausible and deserved the Consideration of Every well-wisher to his Country? And might not others, for the same Reasons, stand up, and with grave and solemn Faces, tell General Assemblies that the Managers for the Company were a Pack of R——, about to ruin both their Trade and Nation? Whether this be a Key to understand Clamour

mour in general (with some few Exceptions) I leave to the more judicious Reader. But what difference does this make upon the Ballance, to the Prejudice or Advantage of the present Contract, compared with that of the *Portuguese*, with regard to either of the whole Islands; whilst a short Comparison will shew, that this of the *S. S. Company*, in the Manner it has been exercised, has been very considerably more advantageous to *Jamaica*, as well as to *Britain*, than the *Former* was?

When the Portuguese, says he, p. 13. *had the Assiento Contract*, they, as well as the *Private Traders*, bought all their *Negroes* in *Jamaica*. This is urged by our Writer in Favour of the *Negro Factors* against the *Planters*, who will call this a Prejudice; so that the Island won't allow this a Benefit, because, say they, it made *Negroes* scarce and dear. But if it was a Benefit, then likewise have the *Company's* *Buyings* been such. But how many *Sir James Castille* bought is not said: And how can a Cause be try'd, especially as to Value and Extent, from such Evidence? The *Company*, I will now tell him, bought near Ten Thousand *Negroes* in about four Years Trade, besides about Eight Thousand which they have imported; and in this Time their Exportations have been near Fifteen Thousand: and until he shews the contrary, he will allow me to tell my Readers, that I verily believe these *Negroes* are double what those former *Assientoists* ever traded for in the like Compass of Time.

" From hence it appears, (says he, p. 20.)
 " that the *Portuguese Assiento*, AND THE PRI-
 " VATE TRADERS of *Jamaica*, were not only
 " beneficial to the Island, but to the Trade and Na-
 " vigation of *Great Britain*. The Merchants of
 " *London* and *Bristol* furnishing them with *Negroes*
 " and *Woollen Goods*, created Employment for a
 " great Number of *Factors*, *Tradesmen*, Ship-
 " ping,

“ ping, and Seamen; and the Money brought
 “ into the Island being soon after remitted Home,
 “ occasioned a Circulation here as well as there :
 “ Whereas now every thing in that way is engros-
 “ ed and swallowed up in that great Gulph ; and
 “ not only the Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, but the *Br-*
 “ *tish* Merchants and Seamen are deprived of their
 “ usual Employment.”

Let the Reader observe *how lovingly* this Writer makes the *Assiento* and the *Private Trade* jog on together in those Days ; and let this whole Paragraph show their united Force, with the great Skill of our Writer in thus embodying them : and then let the *Craftsman* read it once again, and tell the World what a *plausible* Piece of Work he has made of it.

Can a Reader have Patience whilst I ask this Writer, of what Merchants, and of what Nation the *S. S* Company have bought their Negroes ? in Ships of what Country these, and those of their own Importation, were brought into *Jamaica* ? What Countrymen were their Factors, Tradesmen, &c. that they or their Trade have employ'd ? Where have they bought their Woollens and other Goods ? And to what foreign Land have they remitted their Bullion, instead of sending it to *Britain* ? Is not this an Evidence to what a Degree of Infatuation Party Principles are capable of byassing Men of the quickest Discernment in indifferent Matters, to find that such Trash as this can be cry'd up and recommended to the perusal of all who have regard to the *British Trade* and *Plantations* ? Whereas all the real Differences between that which this Writer here extols, and the Trade of the *S. S* Company, is greatly in Advantage, and to the Preference of the latter. The *S. S* Company's Trade, I have fully proved, (and till he brings any Proof, I think I may now set my reasonable Belief against his Assertion) has been of twice the Extent that ever the

Portuguese Assiento was ; and from this Writer's own Testimony, near double (in this one Branch of it alone) to what the *Private Trade* ever was ; and being such, must necessarily employ in *Britain* and *Jamaica* near double the Number of Factors and Tradesmen, to what either of them have ever done. But what Temptation had he to mention *Remittances Home*, as an Advantage on the *Portuguese Assiento's* Side ? Was nothing remitted to Don Porcio the *Assientist* ? Or was it a greater Advantage to *Britain* that the King of *Spain's* Duties, if no more, and no doubt some Profits were expected, and something was remitted as such, (however they failed afterwards) should be returned in Bullion to *Spain* or *Portugal* ? Nor will it be a Salvo to say this pass'd through the *British* Dominions, and so might be returned in Goods. This indeed is our Case now, but on theirs it would be begging the Question ; whereas I may more reasonably suppose, the Returns of so much, at least, were made in the Gallies, by the Way of *Spain*. Under all Suppositions here can be no Preference given to the *Portuguese Assiento* in Remittances, because it is certain all are made to *Britain* now ; nor, had it not been for the Twenty Five and Thirty *per Cent.* which was Particular not National, can any Preference be given to the *Assientist* himself ; unless his being a Foreigner, and employing foreign Factors on the Coast, and sometimes *Spanish* Shipping and *Spanish* Seamen, be such in the Esteem of this Writer, according to his general Position, *that it is better any Nation had it than Britain*, p. 3.

Nor is there any thing in the next Paragraph, where he says, *that the S. S. Company furnish the Spaniards with the best Negroes, and our own Colonies with the worst*, that gives any Preference to the *Portuguese Assiento*, or the *Private Traders*, above the *British Assiento* : Nor has *Jamaica* wanted GOOD,
THE

THE BEST NEGROES, *in the Method the Assiento Contract has been carried on by the S. S. Company.* Take this Writer's Word for it in another Place, and all the Danger is of *their becoming so very cheap as to ruin the Merchants who sell them* : But the *Craftsman* indeed has made a proper Use of this general Assertion, by sending it to his Readers in distant Parts who know nothing of these Affairs, and therefore on his Recommendation may unjustly conceive some Odium thereby to the Trade of the S. S. Company.

In the next Paragraph, p. 21. *It is likewise necessary to observe*, says he, *that the Trade for Negroes before it was in the Hands of the S. S. Company was chiefly to Portobel and Carthagena, from whence they were sent by the Spaniards to Inland Countries, viz. Lima, &c.* Would not any Reader be apt to conclude from hence that it was otherwise now? Or is this an *artful Way* of publishing Falshoods? Just in the same Manner has the Trade been, since the S. S. Company have had the *Assiento*; only I will show it more particularly, by telling him, and undeceiving his Readers, that for ONE Negroe sent by the S. S. Company to any, I believe I may say to all other Places put together, TEN have been sent to *Carthagena* and *Portobel*. But in the rest of this Paragraph, and what follows, p. 22. he further explains himself, and yet thereby, instead of clearing the Matter, further embroils it, and misguides his Reader: He tells you, that they are encreasing their Sugar Works at *Havana* and *St. Jago*. Who can help it? Since if the *Assiento* do not supply them, the *Private Traders*, he himself tells you, have and will. This is part of the *very Trade* he is contending for, and yet shews you the ill Consequences of it; whereas no other Answer need be given, nor any other Remedy in Nature can be found to this, than by keeping up the Price of Negroes to the *Spaniards*, which is the Practice of
the

the *Assiento*, and with-holding them from them at low Prices, which it is the Practice of the *Private Traders* to furnish them at; and indeed this is so strong an Argument in favour of the *Company's Trade*, that no more need be said to shew the Preference which ought to be given to it, with regard to the *British Plantations* themselves, above the other.

But after having spoke of the *Private Trade* to the *South Cays*, he goes on thus, p. 22. *Supposing they (the Private Traders) had actually traded (to Cuba) for an equal Number of Negroes, it cou'd not possibly be attended with the same bad Consequences, because the Spaniards cannot export those Commodities themselves for want of Navigation and Seamen, &c.*

In about Ten Lines of this Page here is a String of about as many false Insinuations or Assertions: 1st, The *Private Trade* to the *South Cays* has constantly subsisted, which is here insinuated to have been *lost* with the rest; there's One. 2dly, He leaves his Readers to suppose the Trade of Negroes to the *South Cays* to be different from that of *Havana* and *St. Jago*, and the Negroes furnish'd to the former employed to other Purposes; whereas the *South Cays* is but a Back Door to *Havana* and *St. Jago*; there's Two. 3dly, *But the Spaniards cannot export their Commodities themselves for want of Navigation and Seamen.* Would any one have expected this so soon after the the Sailing of the *Flotilla*? I can inform him they seldom or never want Navigation or Seamen there; whereas the *Company's Ships* have more often wanted Freight and returned empty; there's Three. 4thly, It is here insinuated as if the *Company* traded to *Havana* and *St. Jago* for Goods only; whereas the *Factors* are ordered to sell the *Company's Slaves* for Money, and never to take Goods but in case of Necessity; there's Four. 5thly, *But no other Vessels* says he, *are admitted into their Ports except the Vessels belong-*

belonging to the South Sea Company; which carries an Insinuation that none of the Product of Cuba can be carry'd away but out of their Ports, which is otherwise in fact; there's Five. 6thly, And consequently, says he, It is impracticable for any other Traders to take those Commodities off their Hands when they are made: Whereas in fact more Vessels of the Private Traders have been freighted at the South Cays, as well for Jamaica as Europe, with some of the Commodities of Cuba, during this last opening of the Assiento, (and whilst all Private Trade, as this Writer would insinuate, has been lost) than have been freighted with Goods at Havana and St. Jago by the S. S. Company; there's Six. But I will suppose him to have meant to speak only of some Commodities, as Sugar, to which he has not confin'd his Words: This won't help his Argument against the S. S. Company, because, as I have said, the Spaniards are in no want of Navigation and Seamen from Havana to Europe, nor from St. Jago to Carthagená, and other Ports of the Spanish Indies, which take off all or near all the Sugars made at this latter.

And after all this, in the next Paragraph, *He must own, he says, that it is the Interest of Great Britain to be Carriers for other Countries, even of such Commodities as we make in our own Plantations, provided we cannot discourage their being made.* What the Discouragement is that he would have, I cannot tell; but this I know, that the making Sugars at St. Jago has been discouraged by the Company's having a Factory there, and refusing to let them have Negroes at the Prices they used to buy them at the South Cays; and what other Discouragement can there be, but making their Negroes dear to them? Did the *Private Traders* use to stipulate with the *Spaniards*, what they should do with the Negroes when they had bought them, and what not? or can any Body think this practicable? or that such

as

as will give Two Hundred and Fifty or Three Hundred Pieces of Eight *per Head* will go without them, and other Places have Plenty at one half or one third of the Price? Is it not a Demonstration that those who will furnish two or three Negroes for those Three Hundred Pieces of Eight, and take Payment in Goods too, are the real and greatest Encouragers of those Settlements which this Writer would impute to the *S. S. Company*, and the very Persons who set their Neighbours upon a Level with the *British Colonies* in manufacturing Sugar, and all other Plantation-produce?

But now follows his Expedient to prevent those Improvements. *How far it may therefore be reasonable*, says he, *p. 23.* to restrain the *Company*, and others, in the Number of Negroes which they export to some particular Places — I have already commended this Passage for the sake of the Words **AND OTHERS**, which carried the Appearance of Impartiality; but he ought to have shewn how this is to be done, or else it may be suspected that he would have only the **FORE-DOORS** shut and the **BACK-DOORS** left open, which will certainly encrease the Evil; and suppose it was practicable to shut *both*, and that Negroes as well by the *Company* as *Private Traders* were to be restrained as to their Sale and Delivery to *Carthage*, could not the *Spaniards* themselves carry them afterwards where they pleased?

I will now tell him one Advantage that he has overlook'd, which the *Portuguese Assiento*, and the *Private Traders* of those Days, really had over the *British Assiento Company*, to wit, that their Negroes were not made liable to the Duties of which the *S. S. Company* have complained. This Writer himself informs the Duke of *Newcastle*, that this Duty was first raised *above 20 Years since*, **DURING THE WAR WITH FRANCE and SPAIN**, *p. 6.*

Now

Now the *Portuguese Assiento Contract* ended, as I believe, above 30 Years ago, and before the WAR WITH FRANCE and SPAIN; therefore, if the *Facts alledged by this Writer*, a Precaution I take here in Imitation of the *Craftsman*, may be depended upon for true, I may presume I think to say, neither the *Portuguese Assiento*, nor the *private Traders* of those Days, paid the Duties: And then his humble Reasoning with *His Grace* will be of this kind; That whereas it had not been thought good Policy to lay any Duties on a *Foreigner*, whilst he was *Assientist*, because in such case he might, and probably would, have removed the *Assiento* to some other Place, *Spanish, French, or Dutch*; yet a *British Company* having now the *Assiento*, who cannot leave a *British* Island vastly more commodious for them than any other, it has been therefore thought good Policy to double the Duties very near, since their Establishment; and if that shall not be thought sufficient, as he seems to hint in p. 23. *It may be mended*, says he, by a heavier Duty on the Exportation, by any future Law. No doubt but *His Grace*, if he reads it, will see the Force of his Argument.

But to say more of the Preference that ought to be given to the *British Assiento Contract*, either with Respect to *Britain* or *Jamaica*, above any former *Assiento*, and above the *private Trade*, would be to repeat what has been already said throughout these Remarks; wherein I have taken no Notice of that profitable Branch of the *Assiento* to *Buenos Ayres*, and said little of the *Annual Ship*, being things out of my Province, but which are not only equally deserving each a particular Consideration, but must strike the Reader at once with sufficient Proof, after what has been said, that those are not only NEW, but so much *Additional Trade* to what *Britain* ever had before.

And now, leaving the detestable Vice of Calumny, as the greatest Enemy to all Moral and Christian Vertues, to be lash'd by Divines as it deserves; and sparing our Writer as many Blunders as I have noted, and among them, I assure him, some severe Reflections on the Maxims and Conduct of the Island of *Jamaica* to its own Prejudice, which now stand published by him, without being refuted, but which I will pass in silence, in hopes all others besides *Themselves* may overlook them; with a few general Remarks I will hasten to a Conclusion.

1. The Reader must have observed, that tho' our Writer's Grievances are many, the private Trade of *Jamaica* ruin'd, the Plantation-Interest endangered, the *British* Commerce and Navigation threatned, &c. to all his Remedy is but one, *De-lenda est Carthago*: But did this extinguish the Dissentions of *Rome*, or save her Citizens?

2. If it be true, as from the Evidence on both sides now seems pretty plain, that *Britain* is in possession of a Contract, whereby Six Hundred and Fifty Spanish Ton (measuring greatly more than *English* Tonnage) of *British* Manufactures have Right to a yearly Entrance into the Spanish Ports in the *Indies*, besides the Sale of Twelve Hundred Negroes yearly at *Buenos Ayres*, and a better Trade from *Jamaica*, exceeding it, according to our Writer's Computation, above 200000 *l. per Ann.* Value to the Company's Share only, more than that Island ever had before; and besides what he insinuates is to be got by *winking*: If this, I say, be the Case, or abating one half of our Writer's Valuation of this last Branch of it; *Whence* all the Clamour that is raised against it at present? Or is this contrived by our Enemies, in order to deprive us of it, or to barter it for *something of much lesser Value*?

3. And from whence the Odium that is endeavour'd to be raised against the Managers of this Trade:

Trade? Let it be seriously and impartially considered, if the very Clamours themselves, by balancing one another, do not rather justify than condemn the Direction of it. The Company have a sort of *Monopoly* in Trade, which yet is different from the Nature of all other *Monopolies*; their *Monopoly* is in *Spain*, not in *Britain*; a *Monopoly* there in *Negroes* only, not in *Goods*; a *Monopoly a-shore* and not at *Sea*. Let their Trade be compar'd with that of the *East India* Company, and these Differences will evidently appear; and yet some Men, no Enemies to *Monopolies*, considering this as such, rail at the Managers for not acting as if it were, which is not in their Power: Others again, hating all *Monopolies*, and mistaking this for such, load this Trade, as well as the Managers, with all the Odium which is due to the *Worst*: And a third sort, such as our * Writer, tho' knowing it to be neither a *Monopoly* nor so executed; yet being Enemies, they know not why, to all Companies alike, mix indifferently with the former two, and make more Noise than both: whilst all this while the Managers themselves, by a prudent middle Course, doing all the just Service in their Power to their *Proprietors*, and molesting no other *British* *Traders*, undergo Censure from *All*, and deserve it from none.

4. Upon this State of the Case, whether it be not worthy of every Man who hath any regard for the *British* Trade, Navigation, Manufactures and Plantations, whom the Craftsman calls upon, laying aside Party Prejudices, instead of following him, to unite in the Defence of this Trade, and of the Privileges thereof, in which, as well the Honour as the In-

* In his Preface, he throws one Stone at the *East India* Company, tho' it was not in his Way, and in his Book another at the *African* Company, tho' asleep.

terest of the Kingdom is now concern'd, and to give *His most Excellent Majesty* and his *Ministers* all possible Assistance, in order to the obtaining *Plenary Satisfaction* for the *Infractions* of the *Assiento* Treaty, and some more *solid Security* against the like again, I leave to a *truly British Parliament* to determine.

5. And as to *Jamaica*, of whose Importance no Body, that I know, is ignorant, or less inclined than our Writer to its support, their Interests will also, no doubt, as often as they need, be the Care of the *British* Parliament; and in the mean time, if I may be worthy of throwing my Mite into their Service on this Occasion, let them accept in good Part this Advice, that some wise and judicious Man be legally authorized to transact the Affairs of so important an Island, and no other suffered presumptuously to make use of the Name and Weight of a whole Society for particular Ends, thereby spoiling their publick Concerns by his own Weaknesses, Prejudice, and Passions; and for the Matter of *private Trade*, let these look upon the *Dutch*, and imitate their Patience and Industry, waiting all Opportunities of enjoying as much as they can, without any Noise or Scribbling about it. *How far further this Advice might be extended*, I shall not presume to say; but applying it to my self, tell the Reader, that if he will forgive me this once, if ever he catches me at scribbling again on a less Provocation, I will be content, for my Punishment, to be transported.

The Conclusion, by way of Apology.

I Believe I need make no Apology for publishing my own Justification. This has been as unavoidable, as the Foundation of the Injury which has been done me. I was no voluntary Solicitor in this Matter; but was call'd upon by the Company that I had served, to give Testimony in Matters in which I had been employed. This Writer therefore has been the Aggressor.

But here, if it should be objected to me in my Turn, that I have treated him with equal, or with more Asperity:

To this, First, I desire the Reader to ask himself the Question, how far the Imputation of a Falshood will move him, and how he would treat the Author of it: Next, I say, in answer, that I have treated no Body in like Manner, not only because the Piece which I expose is Anonymous; but because I fix my Remarks, which concern his Reputation, upon plain Words, as they are written, and as they appear to me to import, and not upon Facts taken upon my own Memory or Hear-say from others.

However, What need I have gone further than my own Justification, or have concerned my self with the Affairs of the Company, with *Jamaica*, its Trade, &c.?

To this I answer, That when first I took Pen in Hand, I designed no more, nor had determined the Method; but in doing this, other Thoughts naturally occur'd, and for Amusement and a Tryal, without any fix'd Purpose of going further, I had put the better half of the foregoing Remarks together

ther before I saw the *Craftsman*, whose Recommendation of this Piece to all his Readers, I confess, nettled me a good deal, to find my self set forth into the World under such Colours, and made me resolve not only to publish my own Innocence, but to expose the Fallacy of a Piece that was now made current among a Party for its extraordinary Value ; and at the same time, common Justice and Gratitude engaged me in the bearing my just Testimony in the Affairs of a Company which I have had the Honour to serve ; and if the Necessity of making good my own Arguments, has led me into any Matter or Expressions which any Body of Men may think hurtful to them, the Calumniator ought to answer for it, who put me under such Necessity.

But this again may be said to be ill-judged, because it can be of no use to the Company what is said by a Servant and Dependant of their own ; no doubt but such People as they pay, will praise the Bridge they pass over.

To remove this Objection, and shew that my Sentiments or my Conduct have not been influenced by this Circumstance, I am obliged to tell the Reader that I had the same, and had not wanted Opportunities of discovering them in a * publick Capacity in *Jamaica* long before I had any Thoughts of ever being in the Service of the S. S. Company ; to which I became partly induc'd, (it wou'd be too much Vanity to say invited) by the Favour and Friendship of a Gentleman, whose peculiar Affability and Courtesy, and whose happy Talent at mixing the Freedoms of a Friend with the just Authority of the Patron and the Master, alters the very Nature of Servitude and Dependance, and turns it into Plea-

* The Author was several Years of the Council in *Jamaica*.

sure and an Ambition to deserve. In Imitation of him, and his Associates, I have laboured in the Vineyard with all my Might, and tho' all our Fruits, as with a blast from Heaven are blighted, like them, I have held fast my Integrity, which I will not let go, and therefore can with them tell the *Craftsman*, or any Man else, that I am as little dependant in this Sense, and as little capable of prostituting myself, or Truth, to serve any Company or Government whatsoever as he to pull them down.

But still it may be urged, that People shou'd try and know their own Force and Capacities, and not attempt Matters above their reach, & *invoca Minerva* : That this I have pretended to charge the Calumniator with, and yet I run myself into the same Error.

This indeed is more difficult to answer than all the rest, and therefore here I will fairly confess, I have wanted my Mate *Mr. Pratter*, more than ever, whose Assistance had I had, I shou'd have acquitted myself as much more to my own Satisfaction, as I shou'd have done to all theirs who are desirous of perfectly understanding the Trade in question; and here my Reader will, I hope, excuse my adding, in as much as *Mr. Pratter* is calumniated with me in some Parts of *this Writer's* Performance, what I can best do without his Assistance; that is, to tell him that he is a Gentleman of a large Fortune in *Jamaica*, and therefore a very unfit Tool to be made use of against its Interests, and that an honest Man, and more faithful and abler Servant lives not, than the Company have in him; and that had they all such, without excluding all the rest, but whom I have no right or any proper Occasion to distinguish, I wou'd take upon me to say that the *Negro Trade alone* wou'd be a very profitable one to the *Company*, as well as to the *Nation*.

But that I have gone farther still, and have drop'd something that looks like a more than ordinary

dinary desire of Peace, and thereby exposed myself unnecessarily to be reflected upon as an *Anglo-Spaniard*, and perhaps a Betrayer of *Gibraltar*.

I answer ; *What Briton is not concerned in this ?* And who wishes not for Peace ? Which, if not to be had by Treaty, may be soon had by Arms, provided our own Discords encourage not our Enemies. As therefore every Man may, at least, direct his own Wishes, mine is, that the Parliament may be unanimous, in advising his Majesty to accept Terms of Peace, if they are honourable ; but if such cannot be had, that their vigorous Resolutions may rekindle *British* Courage, and revive the Glory of their Arms under the Conduct of our most valourous Prince ; a Prince, who having once drawn his Sword, will disdain to yield a *TOWN*, a *SHIP*, or a *MINISTER*, to any Foreign Prince or Princes upon Earth.



APPENDIX.

THE following REASONS, &c. were delivered to his Grace the late Duke of *Portland*, Governour of *Jamaica*, and to the several Members of the Council and Assembly, at the same Time that the Agents for the S. S. Company presented to them respectively their Petitions, in the Name of the Company, praying Relief from the Duties imposed on their Slaves, by the Acts of that Island; which Petition, as Matter of Form, is here omitted.

REASONS *humbly offer'd to prove that it is the Interest of the Island of Jamaica to Encourage the Royal British Assiento Company to continue their Settlement amongst them, by exempting their Negroes re-exported on the Assiento Account from all Duties;*

With some Objections answered.

1. **I**F the Court of Directors of the *South Sea Company* should resolve to supply the whole *Assiento* (*Buenos Ayres* excepted) from *Jamaica*, and their several Factories and Agents in the *Spanish West-Indies* can find Means to vend their whole Number contracted for, as it's hoped they may, they will then want at least Five Thousand Negroes to enable them to perform the same; and as the *Spaniards* are particularly nice and difficult in the Negroes furnished by the *Assiento*, rejecting all such as have the least Blemish or Defect, or are of a yellowish Cast, tho' as good and serviceable as the best, in order to be furnished with Five Thousand such Negroes as will satisfy the *Assiento*, it will require an Importation into this Island of about Ten Thousand *per Annum*, which will employ Thirty Sail of Ships in the first Imbarkation.

2. The Freight usually paid here to the Master and Mariners of such Ships, and which is for the most Part all expended and laid out by them in Wages, Necessaries, and Repairs, or in the Purchase of the Growth and Produce of the Country, is known to amount to about 1000 l. each Ship, which makes an Article of 30,000 l. *per Ann.* expended in the Island; and if the Importers of those Negroes should come to see their own Interest in paying a greater Proportion, or the Whole of their Freight here (which it would perhaps be their Interest to do) double the above Sum might be here expended and laid out by these Ships; nor are so many Ships coming annually for Freight of less Advantage to the Planters as well as Merchants, it being a known Maxim, *That Plenty of Shipping and cheap Freight makes the Produce of any Country sell well.*

3. The Transportation of Five Thousand Negroes from hence to the several Ports in the *Spanish West Indies*, will employ at least Six good Snows or Sloops, and at least TWO HUNDRED MEN constantly in Pay; which one way or other would occasion a further Expence of about 12,000 l. *per Annum* in the Island, and be so much clear Gain to it: At present the Company have four Vessels, which employ near One Hundred and Fifty Men, most of whom are now Inhabitants of the Island; and it is submitted, if this is not now the greatest Encouragement to Home-Navigation that is left to it.

4. It is notorious that when but Part of the *Affiento* was settled here before the last War, Money was thereby rendered very Plenty in the Island (tho' the private *Spanish* Trade was then in a manner lost) and when, by reason of the great Duties which were imposed on the Company's Negroes, the *Affiento* was removed wholly to *Barbadoes*, about the Year 1717, Money here immediately began to grow scarce, and every body knows it grew scarcer and scarcer till the Island was almost drained of all its Current Cash; whereas the present Court of Directors, by restoring the *Affiento* to this Island, have already restored a small Currency of Money to it again, (and which must be owned by every observing Man to have been perceived and felt, before they were sensible of any Advantage to the Island from the Private Trade) and if the *Affiento* continues, it is not to be doubted but this Island will have as great a Plenty of Money as ever.

5. Plenty

5. Plenty of Negroes and Provisions are likewise a certain good Consequence to whatever Place the *Affiento* is establish'd at, and Plenty has always been allowed to introduce Cheapness of all sorts of Commodities.

6. In Proportion to the above Advantages reap'd from the *Affiento* by their Settlement here, it is obvious, that by their Establishment in any of the Windward Islands, not only the above Advantages would be lost to this Island, but by the others Gain the Reverse of all this would thereby happen to us ; Ships, Negroes, Provisions and Money, would become Plenty to Windward as has been once found already by Experience ; and we should not only have the Refuse of the *Affiento* Company, but of the Windward Islands too, in these Particulars ; because, if the *Affiento* in Whole or in Part were settled to Windward, no Negroes or Provision Ships would come hither without first calling there ; and as a Windward Island would have all the Advantage from Two Markets by being first, so *Jamaica* has the greater Advantage in having but One, because what Ships come hither must sell here.

7. The Court of Directors have still the Trade to the Windward Coast, and to *Porto Rico*, *St. Domingo*, &c. under their Consideration, and have not yet determined whether they will settle Factories there, or impower any of their Agents to grant Licenses thither, or from whence they will direct that Trade to be carried on ; on which occasion it may be worth observing, that tho' that Coast and those Islands will not take off many Negroes, yet, if the Court would allow Licenses to be granted thither, as many Vessels and Mariners were employed formerly in that Trade alone from *Barbadoes*, as are computed here for all the other Parts of the *Affiento*, and would probably be so again, by reason of the few Negroes proper to be thither sent at a Time.

8. If the Windward Trade were put under the Direction of the Company's Agents for *Jamaica*, a further Advantage will arise to it, by rendering Cocoa and Mules cheap, and making it almost the sole Mart for Export of all Sorts of Provisions and Liquors to the *Spanish West-Indies*.

For these Reasons it is humbly conceived to be the undoubted Interest of *Jamaica* to encourage the Company not only to continue their Settlement here, but if they can, to fix the whole *Assiento* with them; which, how proper the Means are, by exempting their Slaves from Duties from which other Islands are ready to exempt them, and how favourable this Opportunity is to cultivate the good Disposition of the Court of Directors towards them, and how reasonable for them to expect it, is humbly submitted.

Some OBJECTIONS which have been made to the Advantages alledg'd to arise to the Island of Jamaica from the Assiento being established therein, answered.

Object. 1. *IT has been said that the Company by buying Negroes render them dear to the Planters.*

Answ. The *Assiento* Company must certainly supply themselves one of these Three Ways; either by trading themselves to *Guinea*, or by contracting with others, or by buying at the Market.

If they Trade themselves to *Guinea*, this Objection vanishes out of Sight, for sure they may do what they will with their own Negroes; they are known to be design'd for the Coast, and therefore cannot discourage other Traders from coming to supply the Planters; and every Port where they touch in their Way are obliged to them for so much as they spend there; and if they leave any Accidental Negroes behind them, sure that cannot render others dearer.

If they contract for Negroes, it is as difficult to see how the Planters can be prejudic'd, or Negroes render'd dearer to them this Way. The *Royal-African-Company*, since the Contract with the *Assiento* Company, have imported above Four Thousand Two Hundred Negroes, out of which they have deliver'd to the Agents of the *Assiento* Company but little above One Thousand Nine Hundred, so that there has been in One Year above Two Thousand Three Hundred Negroes disposed of in the Island by the *African* Company; which is much
more

more than double what have been imported by that Company *per Annum* for several Years past, and which has now been owing to the *Affiento* Company. How this extraordinary Supply can possibly be suppos'd to have render'd Negroes dearer to the Planters, is not easy to discern.

Much the same Observation may be made in respect to their buying at Market ; the private *Guinea* Traders relying that the *Affiento* would have a further Demand for Slaves over and above what the *African* Company had contracted for, fitted out more Ships than usual, and sent them hither ; Out of these the *Affiento* Agents have, it's true, bought many Slaves, but they have left more to be sold to the Planters, amongst which several whole Ships have been untouch'd by them ; and how this can be construed to render Negroes dearer to them is equally unintelligible.

But as difficult as it will be found to support this Objection, it seems plain from hence, That if the Slaves re-exported by the *Affiento* Company to the *Spanish West Indies* were exempted from any Duties, this Island would still be oblig'd to them for the Duties which are paid on Negroes imported by their Means, tho' disposed of in the Island ; which is another Advantage the Island receives from them, and appears by the Number of such to be no inconsiderable one. The only true way of trying this Objection seems to be this ; *Jamaica* has once before had the *Affiento* settled amongst them, till by laying Duties on the Company's Slaves, it was first removed in Part, and afterwards wholly to *Barbadoes* : Were Negroes more plentiful or cheaper at *Jamaica*, when the *Affiento* was at *Barbadoes*, or whilst it has been here ? The Answer will utterly remove this Objection.

Object. 2. *But it has been said, If they be not dearer, the Planter is, however, supplied with worse Negroes, because the Company have their Choice.*

Ans^r. In respect of what the Company leaves of Negroes imported by themselves, or of what they contract for, this Objection neither can have any Weight, because what they leave are so many accidental or supernumerary Negroes, which are brought to the Island by their Means, and which otherwise would not be brought to it : And as to what they buy at Market, it seems hard to deny those

Buye

Buyers only the Privilege of all Markets, by whose Encouragement most of those very Sellers are induced to come, and who still leave more Choice to the Planters than they would otherwise have without that Encouragement.

Nor indeed is this Objection just with respect to very many of the Negroes which the Agents of the *Assiento* Company refuse; which being of a yellowish Cast, or wanting a Joint of a Finger, Toe or Tooth, or such like small Defects or Blemishes, are not a Jot the worse to the Planters, tho' they certainly, by being called Refuse, do come the cheaper to them.

Object. 3. *It has been formerly said there was Danger of the Assiento Company's uniting with the African to obtain an exclusive Trade to Africa, which raised some Prejudice against the Assiento Company.*

Ans. It is conceived Time and Experience has pretty well worn out this Objection; but if any such Suspicion remains, it may be considered that if this Suggestion had any Foundation, and the laying of Duties on the *Assiento* Company's Negroes, and thereby driving them from *Jamaica*, would prevent this supposed Evil, there would be some Colour for this way of arguing; but if this would rather tend to effect than prevent it, then even this becomes an Argument for encouraging the Company in the Measures they have hitherto carried on their Trade, which will be the surest and best Method to keep them from endeavouring after new and prejudicial Measures to the Colonies, in order to relieve themselves.

Object. 4. *It has been urged, that the Assiento Company has ruined the private Trade of this Island to the Spanish Coast, and consequently has been a greater Prejudice than Gain to it.*

Ans. If this be meant of the *Assiento*, and the Question was, Whether the Island of *Jamaica* or a *British* Company establish'd by Act of Parliament should have it, or if driving that Company from *Jamaica*, by imposing large Duties on their Slaves, would leave the Benefit of the *Assiento* wholly to *Jamaica*, there might be some Reason for raising this Objection; tho' were it true, *Jamaica* would still be the worse for making use of it, unless it had Power to support it; and in the mean time it seems but common Prudence in any Society, not to reject the Good they may have, because they cannot have more, or all they would wish. But

But in Truth this is wholly a Mistake, and the *Assiento* Company, for all the Benefit they do the Island of *Jamaica*, neither have taken, or do take, any from them; insomuch, that this Objection at present may be fully cleared by a Question instead of an Answer; HAVE NOT THE PRIVATE TRADERS FOR ABOUT TWELVE MONTHS PAST, WHILST THE *ASSIENTO* HAS BEEN SETTLED HERE, SOLD MORE DRY GOODS UPON THE COAST, THAN DURING WHOLE TIME OF THE SUSPENSION OF THE *ASSIENTO*, and near as many Negroes at *Portobelo* as the Company have done? And if the Company, or their Factors, have not endeavoured, or been able to hinder this, is it not rather a Banter than an Argument for any Dislike thereby to the Company, who trade but in Common with others, and are at least twice the Benefit to this Island as all the other Traders put together?

But that none may be carried away with an Imagination that the *Assiento* Company ever did, or intended to do this Island any Prejudice, or was in any Degree the Cause of the Loss or Decline of the *Spanish* Trade from hence, it seems necessary, for the Satisfaction of such, to look back some Years, when we shall plainly discover the true Causes thereof.

As this Trade was carried on in Sloops to great Advantage for some Years, during the War of Queen *Anne*, it must be acknowledg'd, to our Misfortune, that several Commissions then granted to Privateers, were made use of on Board Canoes and other small Boats, to intercept the *Spaniards* going to, or coming from such Trading Sloops; and their Money was not only taken from them by those Means, but their Goods bought out of such Sloops were taken and sold them again, and retaken a Second and a Third Time; which was at length suspected by the *Spaniards* to have been done in Concert with the Trading Sloops, and this gave the first Check to our Trade; which was soon followed by a much greater Blow, to wit, the taking of the *Chagree Fleet* by Capt. *Thomas Colbey*; which, tho' it was justifiable in him as it was Time of War, and he had a Commission for what he did, yet, as it was done in an Intercourse of Trade, and near the Shore, it gave a fatal Stroke to the Trade of *Jamaica*, by ruining many of their Friends among the *Spanish*

nish Traders, and destroying all Confidence between them ; and which was judged of so ill Consequence to this Trade, then encourag'd by the *British* Parliament, that an Act soon after pass'd there, prohibiting any *English* Privateers taking any *Spaniard* who was going to, or coming from any Trading Vessel.

But this Remedy came too late the *French* having a little before this found the Way into the *South-Seas*, and tasted the Sweets of that Trade, now began to send great Numbers of Ships with all sorts of Goods into those Seas, which they sold for small Profit ; and supplying those Markets at low Rates, not only ruined the *Jamaica* Trade, but prevented the Galleons for many Years going to *Portobel* ; all which happen'd long before the *British* Company had the *Affiento* granted to them ; who, instead of having prejudic'd *Jamaica* herein, will appear to any considerate Persons to have been the only probable Means of restoring this Trade to them again.

For since the *British* Company have had the *Affiento* granted to them, with the Privilege of sending a Ship to *Portobel* once in Two Years, their Court of Directors have used their utmost Efforts at the Court of *Madrid*, to put a Stop to the *French* Voyages into the *South Sea*, and by succeeding therein, have not only served their own Company, but proved the best Friends to *Jamaica* they ever had, because all the Trade *Jamaica* have enjoy'd of late to *Portobel*. has been entirely owing to this Circumstance of the *French* being kept out of the *South Seas* ; and would it not seem strange and unreasonable to expect or desire (were it in our Power to hinder them) that the Persons alone who have been the Chief Instruments in procuring this Benefit, should be the only Persons excluded their Share in it ?

Object. 5. If it be said, that the Exigencies of the Government of this Island must be provided for, and it is as reasonable a rich Company, who enjoy the Benefit of its Situation, should contribute towards its Support, equal at least to any other Persons, and therefore ought to be liable to the same Duties ?

Ans^r. It has already been sufficiently shewn how many Ways, and how largely the *Affiento* Company will contribute to the Support of this Island, tho' their Negroes should be exempted from Duties : But, as this Objection

is

is most plausible, and therefore most dangerous, lest it mislead Gentlemen from what is the real and solid Advantage of the Island, to what may prove greatly Detrimental to it, it is hoped all who wish well to their Country will maturely consider it.

If the *Assiento* Company were Inhabitants of *Jamaica*, or under an absolute Necessity of carrying on their Trade from hence, the Parallel might in some measure hold good, tho' even in that Case many Considerations would arise, to distinguish from Private Traders a National Company in the Execution of a National Contract, subjected to certain large Duties to a Foreign Prince, and which has therefore been always found a losing Contract to the *Assientists*; and therefore accepted rather on Account of the National Advantages that attend it, in which *Jamaica* it self is included, than for their own particular Interest.

But when it is further remembred and considered, That the most plentiful and happy Days *Jamaica* ever saw, was in the Glorious Reign of King *William*, when the *Assiento* was first settled by Foreigners amongst them, and of the Advantages whereof the Island, as well as the Government, were then so sensible, that instead of laying Hardships upon them, their Agent received both Honour and Encouragement.

That about the Year 1713, when at the Conclusion of the Peace in Queen *Anne's* Reign, it was expected the *Assiento* would be given to the *English* Nation, these Advantages were then so fresh in Memory, that it was the General Opinion to take off all Duties on Exportation of Slaves, lest that might prove a Discouragement to the Establishment of it in this Island, however a contrary Opinion came afterwards to prevail.

That the Case of the *Assientists*, with respect to Negroes imported with Design to be re-exported for the *Assiento* Account, is most like the Case of all Foreign Vessels who touch for Refreshment only, and are never made liable among Nations in Amity, to the Payment of Duties, or other Hardships; and how reasonable it is for a *British* Company to expect equal Treatment to what Foreigners have met with, or are intitled to, is submitted.

That the *Assiento* Company are but Sojourners at their own Pleasure, and may remove their Trade and Effects

where and whenever they think fit ; and as they have once already done it from hence, so should that happen again, it is obvious from what has been observed, how much his Majesty's Revenue of this Island, as well as the Strength thereof, instead of being supported, is likely to be diminished thereby.

From all these Considerations it cannot certainly be now esteemed good Policy, to run the Hazard a Second Time, of losing so valuable Benefits, by pursuing the same Measures which have already drove the Company once from this Island ; especially at a Time when the Court of Directors, laying aside all former Disputes, have made the first Advances towards a good Understanding and Union of Interests with this Island, and have still further Advantages in their Power to bestow, for which they are courted by our Neighbours, under Assurances of Exemption from all Duties, and all other Encouragements they can give them.

All which is humbly submitted.

UPON the foregoing REASONS, &c. one Remark seems material, to wit, that as they were delivered to the Governour, Council and Assembly, the greatest Care was taken to alledge nothing in them but what was strictly true ; and no Answer having ever been given to them, or any Fact therein asserted, ever contradicted, till now by *this Writer*, it may reasonably be concluded they were acknowledged as such.

N. B. I design'd to have added here the Representation of the Merchants touching the Desertion of the Seamen mention'd in p. 10. but upon enquiry after it, both at the Board of Trade and Secretary of State's Office, it was not to be found ; and the Reason given was, that such Papers as were presented, without any Hearing thereupon ensuing, were seldom or never preserved. This I thought my self obliged to advise the Reader of, having referr'd him thereto. But for the Fact it self, to the full Purport of what I have alledged it, I am very positive of the Truth thereof, having my self sign'd it, and in Consequence thereupon, attended a Committee of the House of Commons, to whom the Consideration
had

of the *British* Duties on Prize Goods was referred; and had it not been for an accidental Loss by Fire, of all my Books and Papers, I could have produc'd a Copy of this Representation my self, and many other Papers, which would have given further Confirmation of many Passages I have taken Notice of in the foregoing Remarks.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 7, Line ult. read *some*. p. 28, l. 20, r. *Pounds*.
 p. 41. l. 33. dele *is*. p. 44. l. 33. read *Settlement*.
 p. 45. l. 21, 22, 23, which is insinuated, &c. not *Italick*,
 p. 47. l. 22. read *Causés*. p. 48. l. 7, read *and very*



